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VOLUME 1422

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Capital Issues Committee Rules and Regulations

(Circular No. 1)

Guaranty Trust Company
of New York



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Capital Issues Committee

(Created by the War Finance Corporation Act)

Rules and Regulations

(Circular No. 1)

Guaranty Trust Company of New York
140 Broadway

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Foreword

THE Capital Issues Committee, created by Act of Congress known as the War Finance Corporation Act, approved April 5, 1918, has issued circular No. 1, embracing the rules and regulations of the Committee. The full reprint of this circular and of that portion of the War Finance Corporation Act relating to the Capital Issues Committee, is contained in this booklet.

A synopsis and complete text of the Act of April 5, 1918, are in our booklet entitled the "War Finance Corporation Act."

All communications intended for the Capital Issues Committee, must be addressed to the "Capital Issues Committee, National Metropolitan Bank Building, Washington, D. C."

101593

Capital Issues Committee

Rules and Regulations

1. The act.—The War Finance Corporation Act authorizes the Capital Issues Committee, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by it from time to time, to investigate, pass upon, and determine whether it is compatible with the national interest that there should be sold or offered for sale or for subscription any issue, or any part of any issue, of securities issued after April 5, 1918, by any person, firm, corporation, or association, the total or aggregate par or face value of which issue and any other securities issued by the same person, firm, corporation, or association, since the said date may be in excess of \$100,000. Shares of stock of any corporation or association without nominal or face value are deemed to be of the face value of \$100 each.

Any securities which upon April 5, 1918, were in the possession or control of the corporation, association, or obligor issuing the same, shall be deemed to have been issued after that date.

The term “securities” as used herein includes stock, shares of stock, bonds, debentures, notes, certificates of indebtedness, and other obligations.

The Committee is not authorized to pass upon (1) any borrowing by any person, firm, corporation, or association, in the ordinary course of

business as distinguished from borrowing for capital purposes; (2) the renewing or refunding of indebtedness existing upon April 5, 1918; (3) the resale of any securities, the sale or offering of which the Committee has determined to be compatible with the national interest; (4) and securities issued by any railroad corporation, the property of which may be in the possession and control of the President of the United States; or (5) any bonds issued by the War Finance Corporation.

Nothing done or omitted by the Committee under the act shall be construed as carrying the approval of the Committee or of the United States of the legality, validity, worth, or security of any securities.

2. Object of the Committee.—The object of the creation of the Committee is to assist in the conservation of financial resources, labor, and material, so that they may be available for uses essential to the prosecution of the war.

The necessity of such conservation has often been made known and the Government has adopted various methods of accomplishing it, one of the most important of which is through the regulation of the issue of securities. In order that this method may be pursued with due regard to the requirements of the National Government, as well as to private interests, Congress has created the "Capital Issues Committee." In order to

perform its duties and fulfill its responsibilities in the fairest and most effective manner, the Committee has prescribed these rules and regulations, not only establishing forms for procedure, but also defining general principles of construction and policy which it will apply equally and uniformly throughout the United States.

3. Interpretation of the act.—The provisions of the act applying to the Committee will be interpreted by it in a manner to enable the Committee to perform its duties in a broad and comprehensive manner, in accordance with the intent of Congress. These provisions may be considered with respect to (a) the classes of securities (b) the classes of persons and corporations issuing securities, and (c) the classes of financial transactions involved in the issue of securities, which come within the scope of the act.

With regard to (a), the description of securities is the broadest possible, and includes every class of securities that can be issued and sold or offered for sale or subscription, whether the issue is made by an existing corporation or other issuing principal or by one organized or created after the passage of the act. The form or length of time for which notes or other securities are to run is not any criterion. Original issues of stock and securities are included as well as all increases thereof.

With regard to (b), the act applies to every class of person, association, and corporation which can issue securities, whether now existing or hereafter created or organized.

With regard to (e), there are several classes of financial transactions which do not come within the province of the Committee, to wit:

(1) Borrowing in the ordinary course of business, as distinguished from borrowing for capital purposes;

(2) Renewing or refunding indebtedness existing on April 5, 1918; and

(3) The sale of securities up to but not exceeding \$100,000 in amount since April 5, 1918.

In construing these exceptions, the nature of the transaction and not the form of security is to govern.

Borrowing in the ordinary course of business is usually done for seasonal requirements, through bank loans, advances, or through the issue of short-time notes, but borrowing may be done in the same manner for capital purposes, and in such cases bank loans, advances, or short-time notes come within the province of the Committee.

As to securities issued to refund or renew indebtedness existing on April 5, 1918, the Committee construes the act to mean that in the opinion of Congress, the issue of such securities is compatible with the national interest, and that

the Committee is not to pass upon the same for the purpose of determining that fact. But before any such issue is made, application should be made to the Committee stating the amount of the indebtedness existing on the said date, and the amount of securities necessary to renew or refund the same. The Committee being satisfied on these two points will pass the issue as a matter of course. This procedure is designed to give refunding securities the official sanction to which they are entitled, and to save investors desiring to purchase them from the burden of making unnecessary investigation. It is not intended to extend the jurisdiction of the Committee beyond the limits defined by the act. The finding given by the Committee on refunding issues, for the sake of convenience, will be in the same form as used for other issues (see paragraph 21 hereof), unless some different form is requested by the applicant. It will be understood, however, that the expression that such issues are not incompatible with the national interest, is made by the Committee in execution of the congressional intent, and is not an independent determination of the Committee in excess of its authority.

With respect to the limitation of \$100,000, it is to be observed that after an issuing principal has issued securities of all classes amounting to

\$100,000, since April 5, 1918, all future issues of any amount come within the province of the Committee. The Committee, however, does not pass upon issues of \$100,000 or less, unless a district committee for special reasons shall recommend action by the Committee. In case a district committee should feel that an issuing principal is resorting to successive small issues for the purpose of evading the spirit of the act, the matter should be brought to the attention of the Committee.

It should be remembered, however, that the reasons for conserving capital for war purposes apply always, whether the amounts involved are large or small, and while it is wholly impracticable for any governmental agency to pass upon all issues of securities separately, the principles involved affect all alike. PATRIOTIC CITIZENS SHOULD NOT PERMIT CAPITAL UNDER THEIR CONTROL TO BE WASTED OR USED FOR ANY PURPOSE NOT CONTRIBUTORY TO THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR, NO MATTER HOW SMALL THE AMOUNT, AND THEY SHOULD BE EVEN MORE DILIGENT WHEN THEY MUST DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF SPECIFIC ADVICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

4. States and subdivisions thereof.—In defining the issues of securities which the Committee was authorized to investigate and pass upon,

Congress did not in express terms refer to States, counties, or municipalities. The reason for this omission is presumed to be because Congress did not wish even indirectly to appear to regulate the affairs of the sovereign States. On the other hand, Congress did not forbid the Committee to pass upon such issues, and it is so obvious that the purpose and object of the act of Congress will not be effective to a very large extent unless the Committee does so, the Committee will entertain and act upon the applications of States and all subdivisions.

With respect to the position of the States and subdivisions, the Committee, for convenience, repeats the views it has expressed in response to many official inquiries, as follows:

The purpose of the act of Congress is clear—to conserve national resources. Its appeal is addressed to all patriotic citizens, in whatever capacity they may be acting. All are expected to cooperate in giving effect to the act “for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war.” The same reasons and the same inducements applicable to the officers of private corporations and to individuals in their private capacity apply with even greater force to the officers of States, counties, and municipalities, and they should be the leaders in the national effort to conserve resources. Every issue of

bonds and securities of States and all subdivisions should be submitted to the Committee before being sold or offered for sale.

GENERAL POLICIES

5. War work.—With regard to issues for the purpose of aiding war operations, war contracts, production of war materials, or intended to assist the National Government in the prosecution of the war, the Committee will feel free to consult and avail itself of the advice of the departments or officers of the National Government having knowledge of the requirements, conditions, or facts affecting the Government. The Committee will endeavor not only to restrict the use of capital for nonessential purposes, but also to encourage its use for essential purposes.

6. Issues of shares for property.—The issue of securities in exchange for property or for other shares, may or may not constitute a sale or offer of such securities within the meaning of the act. No general rule can be laid down and each case must be considered by the Committee separately. Applications for such issues should be made in the usual manner.

7. Stock dividends.—The issue of shares through a stock dividend should be made only from *bona fide* surplus earnings or profits to

present shareholders, without payment by them, and must not require the use of additional capital. All such issues should be submitted to the Committee by application in the usual manner.

8. Private issues.—There is no distinction between “public” issues and “private” issues. Whenever securities or shares of any kind are issued to obtain fresh capital, the transaction comes within the province of the Committee. It is not important whether the fresh capital is obtained from the public, or from any portion of it—that is, from private individuals. The approval of the Committee is required regarding all issues sold, offered for sale or for subscription, in excess of \$100,000, regardless of whether the transaction is public or among individuals privately.

9. Merits.—The Committee will not express any opinion upon the intrinsic merits of securities to be offered for sale. It is authorized to examine into two questions:

(1) Whether the issue is timely with respect to the financial operations to be undertaken by the Government from time to time, and

(2) Whether the objects for which the funds are to be raised are compatible with the national interest.

Intending purchasers of securities which have

been passed by the Committee must thoroughly understand and appreciate the above statement. The fact that securities have been passed is no criterion whatever as to their value or standing as an investment in any respect. The favorable action of the Committee is not even any criterion as to the merits of an issue in a national or patriotic sense. In some cases the Committee feels obliged to pass issues on account of local or special circumstances, when it would not do so if such reasons did not exist. While it will, of course, result that patriotic citizens will purchase only securities that have been passed by the Committee, nevertheless the decision whether to make any such purchase must be made by the purchaser without being influenced in any manner by the favorable action of the Committee.

10. Roads.—It is recommended that all State authorities (including counties, districts, commissions, and municipalities) shall undertake only such paving and other road improvement work as may be actually necessary to be undertaken at this time, thereby avoiding the use of men and money needed for the service of the National Government. In order to justify the construction of roads, either military necessity or unusual economic necessity must be clearly proved.

11. Municipal expenditures.—The amount of capital invested in municipal bonds every year

is very large, and if this amount, or a substantial portion thereof, could be saved, the funds of investors and savings banks would be available in corresponding amounts for the use of the National Government. There are certain classes of municipal improvements and expenditures which should wholly cease, such as parks and betterments solely designed for purposes of appearance or architecture. All others should be curtailed and postponed until after the war whenever possible. This applies to public buildings, hospitals, street and road construction, waterworks extensions, sewerage and drainage improvements, sidewalks, etc. Ordinarily only a small proportion of the improvements planned by a municipality are of such a character that they can not be postponed for a period without endangering the health or welfare of the community.

For example, it is said that no schoolhouses have been built in England since the war except in munition centers, where temporary and inexpensive structures have been erected. In this country, if such additional facilities are necessary, such temporary structures should be resorted to whenever possible.

The fact that the expense is to be repaid wholly or in part by special assessments does not make any difference.

The fact that there appears to be labor available is not a true criterion, because war industries in many parts of the country are in such need of labor that labor organizations are making comprehensive efforts to transport surplus labor wherever most needed.

12. Elections authorizing issues.—In cases where the opinion of the Committee is desired before the proceedings authorizing the issue have been completed, caution will be exercised so that the action of the Committee can not be used to influence the decision as to the issue. Whenever the decision of the Committee can be postponed until after the completion of such proceedings, without involving undue delay, expense, or hardship, it will be the policy of the Committee to do so. This is especially true in cases of popular elections because the limited scope of the Committee's action can not be justly appreciated by electors and it might influence their vote.

In cases, however, where the Committee is clear that its opinion would be unfavorable, it is not improper that suggestion to that effect should be made in order to save the expense of calling and holding a popular election.

INSTRUCTIONS TO APPLICANTS

13. Applications.—Applications respecting the proposed issue or offering of any securities shall

be executed in triplicate, the original and one copy transmitted to the Capital Issues Committee, National Metropolitan Bank Building, Washington, D. C., and the other copy to the district committee in care of the Federal Reserve Bank in the district of the applicant.

The Committee has prepared a form of application and all applicants are urged to obtain such forms from the Committee or a district committee, and make their applications on them. In addition the applicant must provide all the information which will enable the Committee to perform its duties with a full knowledge of all circumstances and conditions appropriate thereto.

The following suggestions are made with regard to applications, and the additional information required:

(a) The purpose of the proposed issue shall be fully and accurately described.

(b) If the purpose of the issue is to renew or refund indebtedness created before April 5, 1918, describe fully the nature and character of such indebtedness and the time or times and the general purposes for which it was incurred.

(c) If the issue is to be created wholly or partly for war purposes, or to raise capital or secure advances in connection with war contracts or war supplies, or to provide equipment, buildings, materials, or facilities of any kind for war

work, full details thereof, and of the kinds and in general the quantity of supplies or materials to be furnished, and the amounts needed therefor, should be stated as well as the proportion which such war work bears to the total business of the applicant. Where any war purpose exists, mention should be made of the controlling governmental authorities at Washington and elsewhere in order that the Committee may obtain from such authorities any further information it may desire.

(d) If the issue is deemed necessary by reason of any governmental requirement, national, State, or municipal, or on account of the requirement of any commission or other authority, the application should give complete details.

(e) If the issue is deemed necessary for public health or for educational or road purposes or other public necessity, the application should describe the same in full.

(f) If the issue is desired for private purposes and no public necessity or requirement exists, very complete exposition of purpose and necessity should be stated.

(g) The consideration, stating amount and character, for which the proposed securities are to be issued, the price of sale, and the amounts to be received by the applicant, should be shown.

(h) *In all cases, except for war work, explicit*

reasons must be given why the proposed issue can not be postponed until after the war, or why the necessity of the issue is greater than the paramount need of the National Government to conserve the financial resources, materials, and labor of the country for the prosecution of the war.

14. Identification.—It is necessary to identify the issues accurately. The following information must be furnished:

WITH REGARD TO PROPOSED ISSUES OF BONDS,
NOTES, CERTIFICATES OF INDEBTEDNESS, AND
OTHER SECURITIES

(a) Name or designation of the proposed issue, amount, date of issue, dates of maturity, and rate of interest. The serial numbers shall be given whenever possible. The serial numbers are necessary when the proposed issue is part of a larger authorized amount, either then outstanding or issuable in future.

(b) Amount of total authorized issue of which proposed issue is part.

(c) Attested copies of the votes, ordinances, or resolutions authorizing the proposed issue.

(d) In case the proposed issue is to be made under or secured by a mortgage, deed of trust, indenture, or similar instrument, attested copy of such instrument.

(e) Certified copies of the last balance sheet of applicant, including a statement of bills payable and income statement for three years past, including last preceding 12 months. (This does not apply to States or municipalities.)

WITH REGARD TO PROPOSED ISSUES OF SHARES OF
STOCK

(f) Total capitalization of the corporation.

(g) Certified copies of the last balance sheet of applicant, including a statement of bills payable and income statement for the last preceding 12 months.

(h) Total authorized issue of stock of which proposed issue is part.

(i) Name or designation and amount of the proposed issue; the method and dates of issue, stating whether the issue is to be made by offer to shareholders, by sale, public subscription, or otherwise.

(j) Attested copies of the votes or resolutions authorizing the proposed issue.

15. Time of application.—Applications with respect to proposed issues should be made as early as possible in order to enable the Committee to coöperate most effectively. Municipalities should forecast expenditures for the year, and agree with the Committee upon necessary items without waiting until an issue of bonds is about to be

advertised or sold. This procedure has already been followed in several important instances with satisfaction, both to the municipality and to the Committee. A program once decided enables agreed issues of bonds to be expedited when ready for sale.

DISTRICT COMMITTEES AND AUXILIARY COMMITTEES

16. In each Federal Reserve District there shall be a district committee of the Capital Issues Committee, with headquarters at the Federal Reserve Bank of the district.

Each district committee shall consist of the Federal Reserve Agent as chairman, the Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank as vice chairman, and three or more other members chosen because of special qualifications to aid the district committee in its work.

Bankers and others having experience in municipal, manufacturing, or public utilities securities may be invited to become affiliated with a district committee as an auxiliary committee, the members of which, from time to time, as their advice and experience may be useful or helpful, may be asked to join in investigating and making recommendations regarding specific applications.

No member of a district or auxiliary committee shall in any manner, directly or indirectly, partici-

pate in the determination of any question affecting his personal interests or the interest of any corporation, partnership, or association in which he is directly or indirectly interested.

17. The district committees upon receipt of applications will examine them in order to determine whether the necessary information has been furnished by the applicant in accordance with these rules and regulations, and without waiting for the direction of the Committee will advise the applicant to supply such additional information as may appear to be necessary or desirable. From time to time the Committee will advise the district committees when the latter should take further action upon such applications, and in accordance with such advices the district committees will make full and complete investigation into all matters connected with the application and into all considerations bearing thereon. The district committees will make an analysis or summary of the application, verifying the detailed description of the securities to be issued and especially describing the purpose or object of the issue. The district committee will complete its analysis with a recommendation to the Committee giving an accurate and full statement of its reasons for such recommendation, and the district committee will thereupon send forward to the Committee its analysis, summary, and recommendations, to-

gether with all original documents, certificates, and other papers not already filed with the Committee.

18. The applicant shall not be informed of the recommendations of the district committee unless and until such recommendations shall have been adopted by the Committee. The final action of the Committee will in general be sent to the district committee and the applicant at the same time. In special cases the Committee will communicate with the district committee, requesting the latter to inform the applicant.

19. District committees are requested whenever possible to discourage or postpone for the period of the war proposed issues of securities and all expenditures for nonessential purposes, whatever the amount. If they are successful in discouraging or postponing an issue or expenditure, that fact shall be reported promptly to the Committee. District committees are also charged with the duty of furthering the public understanding of the functions and purposes of the Committee in their districts, especially with bankers and public officials.

20. Cases referred to district committees by the Committee shall each be the subject of separate correspondence, in order that office files may be kept intact.

21. Form of favorable opinion:

CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON.

Issue of
[Here follows an accurate description of the securities passed upon.]

After due investigation into the purpose of the issue above described, we have determined that the sale thereof is not incompatible with the national interest.

This finding constitutes no approval of such issue as regards its legality, validity, worth, or security in any respect.

In any public offer of the said issue for investment by advertisement or circular, and whenever reference is made to this finding, it is requested that the statement quoted below shall be incorporated in full.

CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE,

By

Chairman.

“Passed by the Capital Issues Committee as not incompatible with the national interest, but without approval of legality, validity, worth, or security. Opinion No.”

[Note.—This opinion cannot be given unless an accurate and complete description of the securities necessary for identification has been furnished, as hereinbefore prescribed. Applicants will *save delay* by carefully regarding this requirement.]

22. Form of unfavorable opinion.

CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON.

Referring to the proposed issue of the following securities, to wit:

[Here follows a brief description of the securities.]

In accordance with the authority vested in the Capital Issues Committee by act of Congress, approved April 5, 1918, this committee has investigated the proposed issue of securities above mentioned and has determined that the sale, or offer for sale or subscription thereof at this time, is not compatible with the national interest.

CAPITAL ISSUES COMMITTEE,

By

Opinion No.

Chairman.

Act of April 5, 1918

Title II.—Capital Issues Committee

SEC. 200. That there is hereby created a committee to be known as the "Capital Issues Committee," hereinafter called the Committee, and to be composed of seven members to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. At least three of the members shall be members of the Federal Reserve Board.

No member, officer, attorney, agent, or employee of the Committee shall in any manner, directly or indirectly, participate in the determination of any question affecting his personal interests, or the interest of any corporation, partnership, or association in which he is directly or indirectly interested. Before entering upon his duties, each member and officer shall take an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his office. Nothing contained in this or any other Act shall be construed to prevent the appointment as a member of the Committee, of any officer or employee under the United States or of a director of a Federal reserve bank.

The terms during which the several members of the Committee shall respectively hold office shall be determined by the President of the United States, and the compensation of the several members of the Committee who are not members of the Federal Reserve Board shall be \$7,500 per annum, payable monthly, but if any such member receives any other compensation from any office or employment under the United States the amount so received shall be deducted from such salary, and if such other compensation is \$7,500 or more, such member shall receive no salary as a member of the Committee. Any member shall be subject to removal by the President of the United States. The President shall designate one of the members as chairman, but any subsequent vacancy in the chairmanship shall be filled by the Committee. Four members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 201. That the Committee may employ and fix the compensation of such officers, attorneys, agents, and other employees as may be deemed necessary to conduct

its business, who shall be appointed without regard to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," approved January sixteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-three (volume twenty-two, United States Statutes at Large, page four hundred and three), and amendments thereto or any rules or regulations made in pursuance thereof. No such officer, attorney, agent, or employce shall receive more compensation than persons performing services of like or similar character under the Federal Reserve Board.

SEC. 202. That all the expenses of the Committee, including all necessary expenses for transportation incurred by the members or by its officers, attorneys, agents, or employees under its orders in making an investigation or upon official business in any other places than at their respective headquarters, shall be allowed and paid on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the chairman.

The Committee may rent suitable offices for its use, and purchase such furniture, equipment, and supplies as may be necessary, but shall not expend more than \$10,000 annually for offices in the District of Columbia.

The principal office of the Committee shall be in the District of Columbia, but it may meet and exercise all its powers at any other place. The Committee may, by one or more of its members, or by such agents as it may designate, prosecute any inquiry necessary to its duties in any part of the United States.

SEC. 203. That the Committee may, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by it from time to time, investigate, pass upon, and determine whether it is compatible with the national interest that there should be sold or offered for sale or for subscription any issue, or any part of any issue, of securities hereafter issued by any person, firm, corporation, or association, the total or aggregate par or face value of which issue and any other securities issued by the same person, firm, corporation, or association since the passage of this Act is in excess of \$100,000. Shares of stock of any corporation or association without nominal or par value shall for the purpose of this section be deemed to be of the par value of \$100 each. Any securities which upon the date of the passage of this Act are in the possession or control of the corpo-

ration, association, or obligor issuing the same shall be deemed to have been issued after the passage of this Act within the meaning hereof.

Nothing in this title shall be construed to authorize such Committee to pass upon (1) any borrowing by any person, firm, corporation, or association in the ordinary course of business as distinguished from borrowing for capital purposes, (2) the renewing or refunding of indebtedness existing at the time of the passage of this Act, (3) the resale of any securities the sale or offering of which the Committee has determined to be compatible with the national interest, (4) any securities issued by any railroad corporation the property of which may be in the possession and control of the President of the United States, or (5) any bonds issued by the War Finance Corporation.

Nothing done or omitted by the Committee hereunder shall be construed as carrying the approval of the Committee or of the United States of the legality, validity, worth, or security of any securities.

SEC. 204. That there is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the remainder of the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and nineteen, the sum of \$200,000 for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the establishment and maintenance of the Committee, including the payment of the salaries and rents herein authorized.

SEC. 205. That the Committee shall make a report to Congress on the first day of each regular session, including a detailed statement of receipts and expenditures, and also including the names of all officers and employees and the salary paid to each.

SEC. 206. That this title shall continue in effect until, but not after, the expiration of six months after the termination of the war, the date of such termination to be determined by a proclamation of the President of the United States, but the President may at any time by proclamation declare that this title is no longer necessary, and thereupon it shall cease to be in effect.

Title III.—Miscellaneous

SEC. 300. That whoever wilfully violates any of the provisions of this Act, except where a different penalty is provided in this Act, shall, upon conviction in any court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both; and whoever knowingly participates in any such violation, except where a different penalty is provided in this Act, shall be punished by a like fine or imprisonment, or both.

SEC. 301. That no stamp tax shall be required or imposed upon a promissory note secured by the pledge of bonds or obligations of the United States issued after April twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and seventeen, or secured by the pledge of a promissory note which itself is secured by the pledge of such bonds or obligations: *Provided*, That in either case the par value of such bonds or obligations shall equal the amount of such note.

SEC. 302. That if any clause, sentence, paragraph, or part of this Act shall, for any reason, be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, or, in case any court of competent jurisdiction shall adjudge to be invalid any provisions hereof in respect of any class or classes of securities, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this Act, but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, part, or subject matter of this Act directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered.

SEC. 303. That the term "securities," as used in this Act, includes stocks, shares of stock, bonds, debentures, notes, certificates of indebtedness, and other obligations.

SEC. 304. That the right to amend, alter, or repeal this Act is hereby expressly reserved.

SEC. 305. That the short title of this Act shall be the "War Finance Corporation Act."

SEC. 306. That all provisions of any Act or Acts inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Members of the Capital Issues Committee

CHARLES S. HAMLIN, *Chairman*

FREDERIC C. GOFF, *Vice-Chairman*

JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS

FREDERIC A. DELANO

JAMES B. BROWN

JOHN S. DRUM

HENRY C. FLOWER

STEPHEN L. SELDEN, *Executive Secretary*

W. T. CHAPMAN, *Secretary*

OLIVER E. FOULK, *Fiscal Agent*

BRADLEY W. PALMER, *Counsel*

Federal Reserve Banks and Branches

District No. 1

Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Boston, Mass.

District No. 2

Federal Reserve Bank of New York, New York, N. Y.

District No. 3

Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.

District No. 4

Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Cleveland, O.

Branch, Cincinnati, O.

Branch, Pittsburgh, Pa.

District No. 5

Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, Richmond, Va.

Branch, Baltimore, Md.

District No. 6

Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Atlanta, Ga.

Branch, New Orleans, La.

District No. 7

Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Branch, Detroit, Mich.

District No. 8

Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.

Branch, Louisville, Ky.

District No. 9

Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.

District No. 10

Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.

Branch, Omaha, Neb.

Branch, Denver, Colo.

District No. 11

Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Dallas, Tex.

Branch, El Paso, Tex.

District No. 12

Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, San Francisco, Cal.

Branch, Spokane, Wash.

Branch, Portland, Ore.

Branch, Seattle, Wash.

Branch, Salt Lake City, Utah.

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Federal Tax on
Undistributed Net Income
of Corporations

Guaranty Trust Company,
of New York



Federal Tax on Undistributed Net Income of Corporations

(Sec. 10b Act of Sept. 8, 1916, as amended)

Guaranty Trust Company of New York
140 Broadway

FIFTH AVENUE OFFICE
Fifth Avenue and 43rd Street

MADISON AVENUE OFFICE
Madison Avenue and 60th Street

LONDON OFFICE
32 Lombard St., E. C.

PARIS OFFICE
Rue des Italiens, 1 & 3

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GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

Foreword

UNDER the regulations of the Treasury Department, every corporation subject to Federal income tax, is required to file within sixty days after the expiration of six months after the end of its taxable year, a return on Form 1112 for the purpose of the assessment of the tax on undistributed net income, imposed by Section 10 (b) of the Federal Income Tax Law of September 8, 1916, as amended, October 3, 1917.

This booklet contains a summary of important rulings of the Treasury Department, relating to the tax on undistributed income, and also the full text of Section 10 (b) of the Act of September 8, 1916, as amended.

Federal Tax on Undistributed Net Income of Corporations

Income Subject to Tax

Under Section 10 (b) of the Act of September 8, 1916, as amended by the Act of October 3, 1917, every corporation is required to pay a tax of ten per centum on net income of the preceding calendar or fiscal year, remaining undistributed six months after the end of such year, unless such net income is

- (1) actually invested and employed in the business,
- (2) retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business, or
- (3) invested in obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917.

If any portion of the net income for the taxable year retained for employment in the business is not so employed, or is not reasonably required in the business, the tax shall be at the rate of fifteen per centum.

Corporations Subject to Tax

The term "corporation" or "corporations" shall be construed to include all corporations, joint-stock companies and associations, and insurance companies, coming within the terms of Title I of the Act of September 8, 1916, as amended by Title XII of the Act of October 3, 1917.

Every corporation, domestic or foreign, which was subject to taxation upon the total net income received by it during the preceding taxable year is subject to the provisions of Section 10 (b) added to the Act of September 8, 1916, by Section 1206 of the Act of October 3, 1917, which impose a tax upon undistributed net income. Corporations which are exempt under the provisions of Section 11 (a) of the Act of September 8, 1916, from tax upon total net income are not taxable upon undistributed net income under said Section 10 (b). Treasury Decision 2736.

Returns

Every corporation which is required by the provisions of the Act of September 8, 1916, as amended by the Act of October 3,

1917, to make a return of its annual net income, and which had a taxable net income for the preceding taxable year, shall make a return of the amount of such net income received during such taxable year remaining undistributed six months after the end of such taxable year. The return shall be made upon Form 1112, shall be sworn to by the president, vice-president or other principal officer, and by the treasurer or assistant treasurer of the corporation, and shall be filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue of the district in which its return of annual net income is required to be filed. Such return shall be made within 60 days after the expiration of six months after the end of such taxable year, except that any corporation which would otherwise be required to make a return on or before a date earlier than August 1, 1918, may make such return on or before August 1, 1918.

Taxable Year

The term "taxable year" contemplates the calendar year 1917 and each calendar year thereafter, or in the case of a cor-

poration properly filing its income returns upon the basis of a fiscal year other than the calendar year, the fiscal year ending in 1917 and each fiscal year thereafter.

*Determination of Income Subject
to the Ten Per Centum Tax*

The amount of income subject to the ten per centum tax is to be ascertained in the following manner:

From the total net income received by a corporation during its taxable year as determined for the purposes of the annual tax imposed thereon by subdivision (a) of Section 10 of the Act of September 8, 1916, as amended, which remains undistributed six months after the end of such taxable year, are to be deducted

(1) the amount of any income taxes imposed by the authority of the United States paid by the corporation within such taxable year from income of that year,

(2) such part of the undistributed income as is actually invested and employed in the business, or

(3) is retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business, or

(4) is invested in obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917.

If the taxable year began on or after January 1, 1917, the remainder is the amount upon which the tax is assessed. If the taxable year began before January 1, 1917, the proportion of such remainder which the period between January 1, 1917, and the end of such taxable year bears to the whole of such taxable year is the amount upon which the tax is assessed. Income received by a corporation before the beginning of a taxable year ending in 1917 is not subject to the tax even though remaining undistributed six months after the end of such taxable year.

Time of Determining Amount of Undistributed Income Subject to Ten Per Cent Tax

The amount of undistributed net income subject to the ten per centum tax is to be determined as of a date six months after the end of the taxable year. Changes in the amount of such undistributed income after such date do not change the amount subject to the ten

per centum tax. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has no authority to change the date as of which the amount of undistributed net income subject to the ten per centum tax is determined, either in the case of a taxable year ending before October 3, 1917, or of any other taxable year.

"The Business" of a Corporation Defined

"The business" of a corporation is not limited to the business which the corporation has previously carried on but includes any line of business which the corporation may legitimately undertake.

When one corporation owns the stock of another corporation in the same or a related line of business and in effect operates the other corporation, the business of the other corporation falling within the general scope of the powers of the first, that business may be in effect although not in legal form the business of the first corporation. Income of the first corporation may be put into the second through the purchase of stock or otherwise and might, if the subsidiary relationship is established, constitute employ-

ment of the income in its own business. For such employment to fall within the exception it would be essential for the corporation to show the same facts with reference to the actual utilization of the funds so employed, or their retention for its reasonable requirements which it would be necessary for the corporation to show with reference to funds employed or retained directly by it.

Investment by a corporation of income in securities of another corporation is not, without more, to be regarded as employment of the income in "the business." The business of one corporation may not be regarded as including the business of another, within the meaning of that exception, unless the other corporation is a mere instrumentality of the first. To establish this it is ordinarily essential that the first corporation own all of the stock of the second.

Undistributed Income

The net income received by a corporation during its taxable year remains undistributed until it is distributed in the form of dividends, whether it is represented by liquid assets or

otherwise. Income distributed in the form of dividends is subject to the provisions of Section 31 (b) added to the Act of September 8, 1916, by Section 1211 of the Act of October 3, 1917, which provides in part as follows:

“Any distribution made to the shareholders or members of a corporation, joint-stock company, or association, or insurance company, in the year 1917, or subsequent tax years, shall be deemed to have been made from the most recently accumulated undivided profits or surplus, * * *”

The burden is upon the corporation seeking to establish a distribution in the current year of profits of the preceding taxable year to show that all the earnings of the current year have been first distributed. In determining the source of earnings from which a particular distribution is made a corporation is, however, permitted to treat the undivided profits and surplus of the current year as reduced by payments for income and excess-profits taxes, or if keeping its accounts on an accrual basis by proper reserves for such taxes, although such payments or reserves

are not deductible in computing the income of the corporation for income and excess-profits taxes. (Treasury Decisions 2700; 2659, and 2678.)

Restrictions on Distribution not Applicable to Investments

The restrictions as to the distribution of earnings of previous taxable years resulting from the presumption that all current distributions are from current earnings do not apply to the use of earnings for investments by corporations. There is in the statutes no limitation or restriction as to the source from which may be taken earnings used for this purpose. Amounts invested in obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917, may thus be treated as made from such earnings as the corporation may designate. (Treasury Decision 2700).

Undistributed Income "Actually Invested and Employed in the Business"

The portion of undistributed net income which is "actually invested and employed in the business" is not subject to the ten per

centum tax. No attempt is here made to enumerate all the ways in which such undistributed income may be so invested and employed. Undistributed income is used or employed in the business if invested in increased inventories or additions to plant reasonably required by the business; if used for the payment of income and excess-profits taxes for the taxable year, provided the amounts so paid are designated upon the books of the corporation as made from the income of such taxable year; if used to make good an impairment of capital when such income is by law required to be so used; or if used to retire the whole or any part of the capital stock of the corporation, but reserves set up for this purpose are neither invested and employed in the business, nor retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business. In the case of a banking institution the business of which is to receive and loan money, using capital, surplus and deposits for this purpose, undistributed income actually represented by loans is invested and employed in the business.

Undistributed Income "Retained for Employment in the Reasonable Requirements of the Business"

The portion of undistributed net income which is "retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business" is not subject to the ten per centum tax. No attempt is here made to enumerate all the ways in which such undistributed income may be retained. Undistributed income is retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business if to a reasonable amount it is retained to make good an impairment of capital when such income is by law required to be so used; or in accordance with contract requirements placed to the credit of a sinking fund for the purpose of retiring bonds issued by the corporation; or retained for working capital required by the business.

In the case of a banking institution the business of which is to receive and loan money using capital, surplus and deposits for this purpose, such reasonable amounts of undistributed net income as are retained for

future loans are not subject to the ten per centum tax.

Undistributed Income "Invested in Obligations of the United States Issued after Sept. 1, 1917"

Undistributed net income "invested in obligations of the United States issued after Sept. 1, 1917," is not subject to the ten per centum tax. This is not true of obligations of the United States issued before Sept. 1, 1917.

Liberty Loan Bonds

As 3½% Liberty Bonds are not obligations "issued after Sept. 1, 1917," the investment of undistributed income in such bonds will not relieve such income from this tax. Undistributed income, however, which is invested in Liberty 4's and 4¼'s is, by the terms of the law, specifically exempt from this tax, irrespective of the use made of the funds. Liberty 3½'s converted into later issues, lose their status as 3½'s upon conversion and become obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917.

Purchase and Sale of Government Bonds

“Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 25th ultimo, in which you ask for information in connection with a corporation which invests its undistributed 1917 earnings in Government Bonds issued after September 1, 1917, but disposes of such bonds during the year 1918. You asked to be advised whether or not the proceeds of such sale have the status of undistributed profits of 1917, or do the undistributed profits of 1917 which were invested in United States Bonds, issued after September 1, 1917, lose their identity, just as the identity would be lost if such funds were invested in merchandise and the merchandise was disposed of during the year 1918.

“In reply, you are informed that the tax of ten per centum imposed by Section 1206 of the Act of October 3, 1917, applies to any earnings of the taxable year which remain undistributed six months after the close of such taxable year and are not used in the business, retained for employment in the business, nor invested in obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917.

“The application of the ten per centum additional tax is made according to the true financial condition of the corporation as of six months after the close of its taxable year. If it then has undistributed net income of the previous year not invested nor retained as specifically indicated in the taxing Act, the tax applies to it. The corporation does not, however, become subject to the ten per centum additional tax by reason of any change in its investments or financial situation after the date of the expiration of such six months. However, if a corporation which invested a portion of its undistributed net income of the previous year in obligations of the United States issued after September 1, 1917, sells such obligations after the expiration of the six months, the proceeds of the sale become subject to the fifteen per centum tax likewise imposed by Section 1206 of the Act of October 3, 1917, unless such earnings are actually invested or employed in the business or retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business. The status of the funds from which the investment in the obligations is made is not lost by the

investment, but persists for the possible application of the fifteen per centum tax.”

(From Letter of Commissioner of Internal Revenue to Corporation Trust Co.)

Income Subject to Fifteen Per Centum Tax

If the Secretary of the Treasury ascertains and finds that any portion of the undistributed net income retained at any time for employment in the business is not so employed, or is not reasonably required in the business, it is subject to a tax of fifteen per centum. The liability of undistributed net income to the ten per centum tax depends upon the manner in which it is invested on the date six months after the end of the taxable year. However, the status of the income is not lost by the investment, but persists for the possible application of the fifteen per centum tax. Amounts of undistributed net income not subject to the ten per centum tax because of employment in the business, retention for such employment or investment in certain obligations of the United States, become subject to the fifteen per centum tax if retained after such investment, employment or re-

tention for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business has ceased.

Time of Payment

The tax on undistributed profits is payable within ten days after the date of notice and demand of tax assessed. If payment is not made within the prescribed time, a penalty of five per centum of the amount of tax due will be assessed, and interest at the rate of one per centum per month will be added for every month that the tax remains unpaid.

Penalties

In case of any failure to make and file a return within the time prescribed by law fifty per centum of the amount of the tax shall be added thereto, except that when a return is voluntarily and without notice from the collector, filed after such time, and it is shown that the failure to file it was due to reasonable cause and not to wilful neglect, no such addition shall be made to the tax. In case a false or fraudulent return is wilfully made, one hundred per centum of the amount of the tax shall be added thereto.

A corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company refusing or neglecting to file a return within the time prescribed by law, or making a false or fraudulent return, shall be liable to a specific penalty of not more than \$10,000.

Any officer of a corporation required by law to make, render, sign or verify any return, who makes a false or fraudulent return or statement with intent to defeat or evade the assessment, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined not exceeding \$2,000 or be imprisoned for not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court, and shall be assessed with the cost of prosecution.

**Act of September 8, 1916 as Amended
October 3, 1917. Section 10b.**

(b) In addition to the income tax imposed by subdivision (a) of this section there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid annually an additional tax of ten per centum upon the amount, remaining undistributed six months after the end of each calendar or fiscal year, of the total net income of every corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company, received during the year, as determined for the purposes of the tax imposed by such subdivision (a), but not including the amount of any income taxes paid by it within the year imposed by the authority of the United States.

The tax imposed by this subdivision shall not apply to that portion of such undistributed net income which is actually invested and employed in the business or is retained for employment in the reasonable requirements of the business or is invested in obligations of the United States issued after September first, nineteen hundred and seventeen: Provided, That if the Secretary of the Treasury ascertains and finds that any portion of such amount so retained at any time for employment in the business is not so employed or is not reasonably required in the business a tax of fifteen per centum shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid thereon.

The foregoing tax rates shall apply to the undistributed net income received by every taxable corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company in the calendar year nineteen hundred and seventeen and in each year thereafter, except that if it has fixed its own fiscal year under the provisions of existing law, the foregoing rates shall apply to the proportion of the taxable undistributed net income returned for the fiscal year ending prior to December thirty-first, nineteen hundred and seventeen, which the period between January first, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and the end of such fiscal year bears to the whole of such fiscal year.

Guaranty Trust Company of New York

Invites accounts of banks and bankers,
firms, corporations, and individuals

Functions and Facilities

*General
banking
department*

Transacts the banking business of the company; extends credit; pays interest on daily balances, and on certificates of deposit.

*Department of
banks and
bankers*

Centralizes the Company's various facilities for the advancement of its correspondents' interests, and promotes the efficient handling of their business.

*Foreign
department*

Undertakes all kinds of foreign banking transactions. Has direct relations with leading banks in all parts of the world. Accepts drafts for the purpose of financing shipments to or from the United States. Issues letters of credit and travelers' checks. Deals in acceptances.

*Bond
department*

Investigates, examines, and underwrites bond issues; gives information to customers regarding their investments; buys and sells securities.

*Trust
Department*

Acts as trustee under corporate mortgages. Acts as executor, administrator, administrator with the will annexed, testamentary trustee, guardian of estates of infants, committee of property of incompetents, trustee under voluntary trusts.

Acts as depositary and agent of voting trustees; holds securities or cash under escrow agreements.

Acts as custodian of securities and financial agent for individuals and corporations.

Acts as depositary for corporations organizing, reorganizing, or established.

*Transfer,
Registration
and Coupon
Departments*

Act as transfer, fiscal, and disbursing agent, registrar, and co-registrar.

*Publicity
Department*

Prepares, for the benefit of customers and others, digests of State and Federal law relating to taxation, governmental requirements, etc.; issues pamphlets on financial and economic subjects of timely interest, and furnishes information on business questions.

*Statistical
Department*

Organized to furnish accurate and up-to-date information in regard to securities and investment conditions.

*Credit
Department*

Furnishes information in regard to the financial responsibility of individuals and business houses throughout the world.

*Member
Federal Reserve
System*

Through our membership in the Federal Reserve System we are enabled to give our customers the benefit of its credit facilities and rediscount and collection privileges.

*Foreign
Offices*

This company maintains fully equipped offices in London and Paris. It has resident representatives and travelers in many countries abroad, affording to importers and exporters complete facilities for extending their international trade.

Full details of the facilities offered by any or all of the departments will be sent on request.

3

THE GERMAN COLONIES

What is to Become of Them ?

BY

RENÉ PUAUX

LONDON :

WIGHTMAN & Co., Ltd.

—
1918

THE GERMAN COLONIES :

What is to Become of Them?

PAN-GERMANS who feel absolutely sure of victory—in the absence of such a conviction the projects of annexing Antwerp, the Briey basin, etc., would be paradoxical—will not even discuss the question of whether the German colonies should be restored to their pre-war possessors.

A large section of the public regards their restitution as reasonable enough. It is admitted that a prolific country like Germany needs colonial possessions to take her surplus population; and, as nobody dreams of stifling the German people when it has received its punishment, or of forbidding it to resume a normal and healthy existence, it is expected generally that the future peace treaty will include a clause exchanging the captured German colonies for Alsace-Lorraine or the freedom of Belgium. This is the normal view, seldom discussed, and never opposed.

However, the problem is far less simple than it appears on the surface. In the first place, we no longer live in the times of Ruy Blas, when "niggers" were a kind of merchandise to be bartered for "arsenic" without the least consideration for the "niggers'" views on the matter; in the second, the opinions of the British Colonies, Dominions, Commonwealths and Federations, whose armies conquered the colonies in question, cannot be disregarded.

A short examination of the story of the German colonies, of their significance and administration, will bring one to the conclusion that the restoration of her colonies to Germany is neither necessary nor desirable. The documents dealing with the matter should be laid in their entirety before the plenipotentiaries who arrange the peace treaty. Meanwhile, we will content ourselves by drawing attention to their outstanding points.

I.

It is a mistake to regard the German colonies as colonised by a surplus of population. There are more Germans in Paris than in all the German colonies put together. According to statistics given in the *Almanach de Gotha* for the years 1907-1911, all German emigrants went to North or South America or to Australia to settle. Hardly a couple of dozen made for Africa.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>N.America</i>	<i>S.America</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>
1907 ...	31,696	30,764	579	163	37
1908 ...	19,883	18,211	406	175	33
1909 ...	24,921	20,297	4,256	178	26
1910 ...	25,531	23,233	2,077	128	16
1911 ...	22,690	19,411	2,917	246	18

A column devoted to Asia does not appear in this table, which sums up the movements of German emigration; because, as a matter of fact, the *Almanach de Gotha* records only a single solitary emigrant to Asia—in 1908!

If we now turn to the page of this same *Almanach de Gotha* which deals with German colonies, we find that in an area of 2,913,500 square kilometres, containing 15,651,600 natives, there were only 25,560 whites all told—and those not all definitely Germans—

say, the population of Mostaganem or Chandernagore, within a hundred or two.

The contention that Germany needs her colonies as an outlet for her surplus population is, then, merely bluff. In five years 125,000 emigrants left Germany; and not 150 of the lot settled in German Africa!

There is nothing to be astonished at in this. German colonial theories have never—except possibly in the beginning of things—regarded the German colonies as anything but reservoirs of raw materials which can be exploited more cheaply on German territory than they can be purchased from a neighbour or a neighbour's colonies.

In a pamphlet which appeared in 1912 under the title *Deutsche Weltpolitik und kein Krieg* (Germany's World-Policy and No War) and was noticed by Prof. Hans Delbrück in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and by Maximilian Harden in the *Zukunft*, we find the naïve avowal that Germany has no need of colonies or outlets for population, since she has no men to send them, is far less densely populated than Belgium or England, and requires all the labour she can get. (The millions of men killed or crippled in the war have left gaps which it will take several generations to fill.) Therefore the colonies are only strategical points on the world's trade routes; granaries and mines for supplying Germany; centres of business activity in general.

The question of handing back the German colonies is greatly complicated by this brutal and essentially German mode of reducing the civilising mission of colonial activity to a merely military or economic level, and to the intensive exploitation of exotic wealth. The same also explains the ferocious attitude of German administrators and colonists towards native populations. Never have unfortunate, defenceless human beings been so systematically oppressed, squeezed and

massacred as those who, as we are told, have had to work for nothing and for the King of Prussia—two expressions which the nations of the world have long regarded as meaning the same thing.

This régime had finally revolted even some of the Germans themselves. On March 7, 1914, Deputy Dittmann exclaimed in the Reichstag: "What we Social-Democrats have always prophesied would happen, will happen: the total extinction of the natives in our colonies. The few whites there are like vampires fastened on their necks, sucking their blood from their veins, and the marrow from their bones. Simultaneously with this hateful decimation of the natives we see the expansion of so-called capitalist 'Kultur,' and without a renewal of the wholesale massacres of the Herrero War, or of the horrors committed by Peters, Leist, Arenberg, or those other nigger-drivers who are a disgrace to kultur, the native population of our colonies is disappearing rapidly under the German capitalist régime."

German statistics themselves bear out these words of Dittmann in the Reichstag. In 1894 there were 2,500,000 natives in Togoland; in 1914 only 1,032,000 were left. The Turks, Germany's allies, hardly did better in Armenia in a shorter time. During the Herrero War (1904-1905) 40,000 natives perished; and by 1911 a population estimated originally at 300,000 had been reduced to 140,000.

The names of Peters, Leist and Arenberg mentioned by Deputy Dittmann are those of German officials of high standing, whose hateful and disgraceful behaviour is notorious. Not only was the most repulsive of them, Doctor Karl Peters, a proved murderer, championed by General von Liebert, a member of the Reichstag, President of the Anti-Socialist League and a political friend of Prince Bülow, who wrote, "Little can be

done in Africa without resource to cruelty "; but the Emperor rehabilitated this assassin, whom the Germans styled a "superman" (*uebermensch*), and as a finishing touch his statue by the German sculptor, Karl Moebius, was to be sent to Dar-es-Salaam in August, 1914. So one need not be surprised by the happenings at Dinant and Louvain and by all the atrocities which the German Army has committed since the outbreak of the war. The consistent doctrine—the rule of brute force and the complete exploitation of the weaker party—is revealed in these most recent pages of German imperialism. The generals of 1914 observed in Belgium and France what the German High Commissioners in Africa, long before the European war broke out, made their normal procedure with the knowledge and approval of the Berlin Government.

The reports issued by the Commission of Enquiry into the atrocities in Belgium and France have horrified many people. I know Scandinavians who still hesitate to credit the awful details. If those reports have reached Dar-es-Salaam, Windhoek, Buea, Lomé and the British, French and Portuguese colonies adjacent to the German, the evidence collected has certainly been accepted on sight as betokening a re-enactment on European soil of a tragedy that is only too common in Africa.

Prussian brutality has experienced little trouble in finding men ready to carry out the work of oppression and slaughter. The Prussian instinct is suited to the task; freedom of action has given full scope to its innate cruelty. The Germans have behaved in their colonies as if they were in conquered countries, wherein one never moves without a revolver. Their object being not to conciliate the natives, but to exploit them and make themselves feared, they have maintained a continuous state of war, the only one in which they feel really comfortable.

We have several portraits of German torturers to illustrate the history of German colonisation.

There is Prince Prosper d'Arenberg, a lieutenant in German West Africa, who murders a native and misbehaves with many women. William II. commutes the sentence which had to be passed upon him, and a little later he is re-tried and acquitted as having merely shown lack of judgment.

Next, Wehlan, an official in the Cameroons. He has the natives flogged to wring money from them, and is encouraged in his behaviour by his chief, the colonial Governor, Herr von Zimmerer, who adopts the same method of raising cash to pay his private debts, and has villages burned when the quatum is not paid with sufficient promptitude. Wehlan is recalled from Africa on account of the scandal and given a notary's berth at Berlin.

Leist, Deputy-Governor of the Cameroons, has native soldiers' wives flogged in their husbands' presence, and seizes other women ostensibly as hostages and outrages them. The outcome of these excesses, which are apparently due to sadism, is a revolt of a hundred or so of the soldiers who have had to witness their wives' degradation. They attack the Governor's palace and kill a judge whom they mistake for Leist. The European colony takes refuge on an English ship while the Germans get to cover on a gunboat. Supports arrive, and Governor Leist's ideas of "Kultur" are immortalised by hangings galore. Leist is merely given another post.

Herr von Puttkamer, Governor of the Cameroons, is the son of a minister of State and a nephew of Bismarck. His colonial administration was distinguished by a series of scandals. The money budgetted for road construction was used by him to build houses for his officers' native concubines and for himself. The

Governor drew commissions, in the shape of shares, from private commercial enterprises favoured by him. He has admitted that his officers inflict nameless mutilations on natives suspected of relations with the negresses kept by the officers for their own pleasure. He shielded Captain Dominik when he committed the crime, unparalleled since the Massacre of the Innocents, of putting 52 babies into baskets, flinging them into the Nachtigal rapids and so drowning them all. He countenanced the bringing in of the ears of enemy slain to get exact figures; listened without a frown to the report of the summary execution, by Captain Kamptz, of three natives accused of theft; and entertained at his table von Brauchitsch, Meyer, two judges in league with them, and other cruel wretches.

The oppressive régime developed by von Puttkamer, who was notorious as a gambler and roué in Germany long before his appointment to the post, and owed his selection to influential relatives among the German ruling caste, could not but end in arousing feelings of revolt and despair among the tribes victimised by it. After vain protests against the sufferings they had to bear, the chiefs—King Akwa, Manga Bell (chief of the Donkalas), and Ekwala Deido (chief of the Deidos)—faced a journey to Berlin in the endeavour to get justice from the Colonial Office. They were met with fair words, but on their return their miseries were made worse than ever, and the Akwa chiefs therefore decided to send a petition to the Chancellor and to the Reichstag, which they supposed to be all-powerful. A third copy of it was addressed to Mpundo Akwa, son of King Akwa, who was studying at Altona, and was considered to be a fit person to act as ambassador extraordinary—as King Akwa entertained the illusion that the Germans felt a special respect for a native prince who paid Germany the compliment of going thither to learn her justice, science and strength.

The petition was held up on arrival in Berlin by the Colonial Office and returned to von Puttkamer, who promptly arrested the thirty signatory chiefs. He then had them tried by von Brauchitsch and Meyer, the very magistrates whose exactions were shown up in detail by the document. King Akwa was condemned to nine years imprisonment, Mukuri to seven years, and the others to terms of various lengths.

As the facts eventually came out in Germany and the scandal could not be hushed up, a re-trial was ordered, and this merely reduced the sentences. Herr Dernburg declared in the Reichstag that a criminal, or even a disciplinary, action could not lie against officials denounced in the native chiefs' petition; and added that obviously one could not quite "approve of" the manner in which natives are tried and sentenced in the Cameroons, though he was issuing instructions that would put everything right. The basis of the Akwa chiefs' complaints was not even investigated; yet these poor men had not made their solemn protest until their patience and endurance were exhausted.

Their list of charges sums up the chief features of German rule in the Cameroons as conducted by von Puttkamer :

1. The confiscation of their lands and houses at Duala, in violation of the treaty signed by them and Doctor Nachtigal. (Another "scrap of paper" !)
2. The brutal manner in which these confiscations were carried out.
3. Numberless floggings, continued even till the victims died under them.
4. Unpaid forced labour.
5. Illegal acts of the German officials.
6. The burning of villages.

7. The murder of natives.
8. The imprisoning of chiefs.
9. The extortion of King Akwa's signature.
10. The indignities inflicted on this sovereign, who was often thrown into prison.
11. The seduction of a young engaged girl by Chief Justice Meyer and Councillor von Brauchitsch.
12. The breaking of promises made with regard to the rewards offered for discovering petroleum springs.

Dernburg, the Minister for the Colonies, evidently thought that these charges were not worth investigation, and Puttkamer remained in command of the colony for a year and a half. But as he could not possibly be retained, he was eventually brought before a disciplinary court on the convenient charge of having obtained a faulty passport for a *demi-mondaine* with whom he lived in the Government House. He was fined 1,000 marks and reprimanded; which was regarded at Berlin as a very smart way of getting rid of a more than compromising associate.

We now take the case of Herr G. A. Schmidt, District Governor of Togoland. One day this official ordered the young girls of Atakpane to present themselves at a ball given at his house, threatening with a fine of 20 marks any mother who should forbid her daughter to accept his invitation. The Governor's immorality was notorious, and the object of his so-called ball for young native girls obvious enough. Complaints were, therefore, lodged with the Catholic Mission near by, which ordered *ex cathedra* its catechumens not to go to the Governor's house. Schmidt, furious at this, issued an order forbidding natives to complain to the Mission. Now, a little later, a native girl, Ayena by name, informed the Fathers that

Schmidt kept in his harem her young sister Adjaro, less than fourteen years old, whom he flogged and abused in a disgusting manner. Ayena had suffered similarly for three weeks and then managed to escape. The head of the Mission then sought out Lieutenant Preyl, temporary district judge, to acquaint him with the facts. Preyl excused himself on the ground of lack of authority, and asked for a memorandum in writing to forward to his chiefs. The Superior drew out his charge, accusing Schmidt of seducing a minor—a crime which native custom punishes with death—and sent it to Lieutenant Preyl.

District Judge von Rothberg and his adjutant Lang obtained an escort of 19 black soldiers from Schmidt, went to the Mission, placed the Fathers under arrest, rummaged everywhere—even in the chapel, the altar of which they desecrated—took possession of all papers, and led the missionaries off to prison, where they remained for 21 days quite cut off from the outside world. Schmidt caused the disappearance of the telegram addressed to the Supreme Court of the Cameroons; and with his friend Kersting (who already had on his conscience the murder, by revolver, of a negro chief whose head he had cut off as a trophy and sent to the Berlin Museum*) proceeded to examine the witnesses. The German Court of Justice condemned the Superior of the Mission, alleging that young Adjaro, the principal witness, had apparently been hypnotised (*sic*).

When this scandalous episode was brought before the Reichstag by Deputy Roren, he disclosed the fact that Schmidt, not content with a harem of five girls, had promoted his black concubine, a woman named Sisakbe, who pandered to his debaucheries, to the rank of *Jenusia* (queen), had made her carry a sword, and

* Session of the Reichstag of December 1, 1906.

had entrusted her with the administration of justice and the collection of taxes.

In spite of these disclosures, Schmidt was kept in Togoland, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking in the Reichstag on December 3, 1906, declared that this campaign against German colonial officials must cease, if it were not to become impossible to find men for the administrative staff!

I have already mentioned the case of Captain Dominik, whose men drowned 52 babies in the Nachtigal rapids. The German Government commissioned a statue of Dominik from the sculptor, Karl Moebius, from whose hands came also the monument of another notorious brute: Peters. Dominik's statue was sent to the Cameroons in 1912, and a replica of it set up in Jaunde on May 5, 1914.

At this same station of Jaunde another German official held sway, Lieutenant Schenneman, who had three natives castrated because he suspected them of relations with his mistress.

We have not yet completed this gallery of German colonial officials, for there is Captain Kannenberg, who fired into a hut close by to silence a woman and a child whose crying kept him awake, and had two village chiefs scourged to death for not answering some questions satisfactorily. Kannenberg was condemned to three months' imprisonment, then immediately pardoned and given his full pension by Stuebel, the Director of Colonies. A department official who ventured to raise doubts as to the legality of this pension was brought before a disciplinary court and discharged.

Next we get Captain Brandeis, another flogging expert, who meted out this punishment to the Marshall Islands natives whenever he felt so disposed, but left no records of it in his registers of judicial penalties.

for form's sake Brandeis was reprimanded—and presented with a Prussian decoration.

Then, too, Captain Kamptz, mentioned already, who shot down Cameroons natives with a machine-gun at three feet distance; captain Thierry, who hunted natives like game; and Karl Mezger, who fired into every village he passed through, killing or wounding the natives just to win respect for German might.

In Togoland also we find Doctor Gruener, Herr von Doering, and Doctor Kase, whom the natives nicknamed "the monster of Manga." In the annals of the crimes committed in this unhappy colony are cases of "punishment at the stake," a form of torture with which our men have made acquaintance in German prison camps.

II.

At a time when Germany still possessed a conscience this unbroken series of crimes and cruelties committed in her colonies provoked indignant protests in the Reichstag.

On March 15, 1906, Deputy Arendt stated that the colonies were merely a refuge for men of damaged character. On March 13, 1906, Bebel said :

"There is not a single one of our colonies, whether in Africa, or in the Pacific islands, or in Australasia, which is not the scene of revolts. The Governor of East Africa, Count Goetzen, has himself admitted that the hut-tax, the veto on opening up the forests and hunting game, and forced labour for road making, etc., have contributed to this unrest. But flogging has done more than anything else to bring about this rebellious spirit. In one year, in the Kilwa district, 434 floggings are recorded, and in the colonies taken together, 4,783, not counting those of an unofficial character. The instrument of torture, a rhinoceros-hide whip, breaks the skin at the first blow. Severe illness, and, in many cases, death, follows. The employment of such a means of punishment exasperates the natives and rouses their anger to a terrible pitch—a matter not to be wondered

at. It would be a miracle were things otherwise. Moreover, in 1914, 13 natives were sentenced to death, 223 to more than one year's imprisonment, 429 to six to twelve months, and 6,154 to less than six months."

Bebel then read out a letter that appeared in the *Strasburger Post*, in which the writer describes an incident in which he took part :

"On August 23rd, at 5 a.m., we surprised the natives at Kibata, just as they were endeavouring to cross the river. There was at the spot a narrow bridge of lianas, which they had to negotiate, so we got into them nicely. Seventy-six of them were killed, without including those who fell wounded into the river. Many tried to swim across, but were torn to pieces by the crocodiles which swarm there. In the middle of the river there was a sand-bank, on which those who escaped the crocodiles tried to rest, but our bullets found them all right. What a sight it was ! I was on the river bank, behind a fallen tree. I fired 120 rounds. The prisoners were hung in every case."

Bebel protested against this hideous way of waging war. On March 17, 1906, he returned to the charge. He examined the case of Peters, who had his young servant girl hanged for stealing a few cigars, and his concubine on suspicion of infidelity ; who sacked and burned villages ; and was guilty of such a succession of crimes that the traveller, Eltz, a German who happened to be in Africa at the same time as Peters, wrote in the *Voss Gazette* : "You, Doctor Peters, have committed acts such as Germany will not thank you for."

On March 20, 1906, Bebel related how, at Duala, Police Inspector Wieck distributed petroleum and matches among his men, to set fire to native houses which the Road Department wanted out of the way, so that new streets might be laid out. The Socialist leader disclosed the fact that the instruments used for flogging were soaked in tar and then rolled in sand, to increase their cutting powers.

"That is pure barbarism, an act of cruelty perpetrated in the name of civilisation and Christianity, against which we protest

with all our might. The things we hear of as happening in our colonies match the deeds of Oriental despots. How can people, who pride themselves on their civilisation, be guilty of such acts?

"I am quite convinced that, if a conspiracy of silence were not the rule, we should hear yet worse things. A man who lived in the Cameroons told me that every clerk who disclosed any scandal might regard himself as done for. All means were employed to get him recalled. As for the officials, they are firmly bound by the ties of comradeship."

On December 1, 1906, Bebel described the scandalous contracts of the Tippelskirch and Woermann firms, whose business had so profited by the Herrero war that, in common with all German merchants of S.W. Africa, they regarded the war as a very fine thing. Bebel took advantage of this occasion to quote the following proclamation by General von Trotha :

"I, the great general of the German soldiers, send this letter to the Herreros. The Herreros are German subjects no longer. They have killed, stolen, cut off the ears and other parts of the body from wounded soldiers, and now are too cowardly to want to fight any longer. I announce to the people that whoever hands over to me one of the chiefs shall receive 1,000 marks, and 5,000 marks for Samuel Maherero. The Herrero nation must now leave the country. If it refuses, I shall compel it to do so with the 'long tube' (cannon). Any Herrero found inside the German frontier, with or without a gun or cattle, will be executed. I shall spare *neither women nor children*. I shall give the order to drive them away and fire on them. Such are my words to the Herrero people."

Returning to the Peters business, Bebel related how Councillor Hellwig, who had informed against Peters, was retired by Secretary of State von Richtofen. Murmurs ran through the Reichstag, and when it was called to order Bebel exclaimed: "All the calls to order in the world will not efface the shameful fact of the corruption of the German Empire."

On March 7, 1914, the Socialist Deputy Dittmann stated in a speech from which we have already quoted :

"The German Empire has now pursued a colonial policy for thirty years: but what we know of our colonies gives us little reason to hold jubilee. . . A member of the Centre, who speaks annually on colonial questions, has himself admitted that 'if things continue as they are, Germany can no longer accept the responsibilities of her colonial policy.'"

Deputy Dittmann drew a moving picture of the forced labour imposed on the negroes, of the bad faith shown by German colonists, backed up by the authorities, who kept back for themselves the larger part of the wages promised. He disclosed the fact that, whereas the East African Company's dividends rose to 15 per cent. in 1912, the black's wages had risen only a centime a day between 1907 and 1912.

The natives preferred to take to the bush or emigrate to adjacent colonies. The German authorities then hunted them and threw recalcitrant labourers into chains. In conclusion, Herr Dittmann said:

"Gentlemen, I believe that level-headed people must regard our colonial policy as the product of a mad-house." (The speaker was here called to order by the President for insulting the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but continued): "Who can deny that this development of oppression, the offspring of capitalism and exploitation, is at the bottom of the evil, and that the only way of improving matters is to prevent these profit-hunters from battenning on the colonies? If a poll-tax be introduced in Ruanda and Urundi to compel the natives to work, and a revolt is the result, it is to be feared that the tragedy of the Herreros in South-West Africa will appear a mere bagatelle beside the massacres which will take place in the north-west corner of East Africa. In South-West Africa it was a matter of but 80,000 Herreros: in Ruanda and Urundi, one has to do with 3,500,000 natives.

"Peaceful colonisation is possible, however. I would remind you of the Jesuit State of Paraguay, and refer you to the experiences of missionaries and explorers of Africa. You will see that the prosperous condition of the British colony of Nigeria is due to the very complete economic independence of the black population. While our cocoa plantations in the Cameroons yielded us 4 million marks' worth of produce in 1912, the independent peasant proprietors of Nigeria sent 40 million marks' worth into the world's markets."

On May 17, 1914, Deputy Dove asserted in the Reichstag that the German colonial idea of justice was so primitive that government and the administration of justice was left in the same hands, so that it was impossible to protect right against the abuses of power.

In 1906, Erzberger of the Centre announced in the sessions of March 13 and 15 that the Colonial Department had consistently hid the truth, and Prince von Hohenlohe, on behalf of that Department, put up the defence that the officials of the Imperial Department were so overworked that documents might well have escaped their attention.

On May 6, 1906, Erzberger disclosed in the Reichstag the fact that the statistics of the importation of alcohol into the colonies showed a terrible increase. In three years they had risen in Togoland from 8,500 hectolitres to 18,000, and in one of the German West African colonies poisonous alcohol made up 27 per cent. of the total of the German import trade.

On March 7, 1914, Erzberger said :

"Without being mentioned by name, I have just been credited (a reference to Dittmann's speech) with the opinion that, if the Secretary of State for the Colonies did not manage to improve matters at the earliest possible moment, I should no longer be able to bear the responsibility for voting the Imperial money credits for our colonial policy. I most heartily endorse that opinion and am ready to face all consequences.

"From every page of the official reports from the Protectorate for the years 1912-1913 comes the heart-rending cry of black labourers toiling in the plantations. If these reports be studied carefully, one learns of things which could hardly have been thought possible. If some of our plantations in East Africa or the Cameroons cannot be worked profitably unless they are enriched by the natives' life-blood, surely a curse will fall on all our colonies and our German fatherland. Such plantations should not be allowed to exist.

"I have before me statements issued by the Cameroons Planters' Association. The mortality statistics are shocking. In the Victoria plantations, Cameroons, the death-rate among native

labourers is 7.89 per cent. for 1909 and 9.11 per cent for 1913. In the Prince Albert plantation it reached 28.80 per cent in 1913."

On May 19, 1914, a deputy, Doctor Frank, drew the Reichstag's attention to an article in the *Rhine and Westphalia Gazette* (of May 10, 1914) in which it was proposed that German lawyers should combine in refusing their assistance to people of other races. "In this way," exclaimed Frank, "the issue of the battle for right would be made entirely dependent on the nationality of the person wronged."

Doctor Frank then went on to explain that this ostracising policy of German lawyers originated in the affair of a certain native of the Cameroons, Din by name, who had just reached Berlin and been arrested at the Colonial Office's orders on the recommendation of a district magistrate named Roehm. The latter had sent a cablegram about an alleged plot by the chief Duala Manga, whom he had just had arrested for an attempt to separate off the German Protectorate of the Cameroons and transfer it to British protection. Roehm added: "Din is now in Berlin. There is reason to suspect that he went to Europe to work out the plans already referred to." On the strength of this telegram the Colonial Office at Berlin had Din arrested, and no stone was left unturned to prevent him finding a counsel to defend him among members of the German Bar.

Deputy Frank, in drawing attention to this case, added: "I am convinced that this business marks the beginning of a reign of terror in the Cameroons."

A few days earlier, Deputy Wels had told the Reichstag that Din, when arrested at Homburg immediately on his arrival there, wished to telegraph to his counsel at Berlin, Doctor Halpert, but that his telegram was cancelled. As for the memorandum which Din had entrusted to Doctor Halpert to be presented in the

Reichstag, the Colonial Office had confiscated it on the pretext that it contained passages which were regarded as insulting to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Deputy Wels considered these acts of suppression to be insulting to the Reichstag as imposing a censorship on its papers, seeing that the men elected by the people had the right to hear all complaints.

Din was not merely arrested on reaching Germany to prevent the disclosure of the sufferings and injustice inflicted on his brothers, the Dualas, but informed that he would be imprisoned again when he returned to Africa for violation of the German emigration laws by leaving the colony without permission from the Government—the very people against whom he meant to lodge a complaint.

One can hardly imagine a more complete combination of hypocrisy, bad faith and high-handedness, or a more thorough-going tyranny. We are not dealing here with old history, or with doings of the early days of German colonisation, when mistakes were pardonable, but with things that happened in the spring of 1914.

The European war prevents us knowing what was the upshot of the Din affair. We are certain only of this—that he came to Berlin, not to engineer a transference of the Cameroons to England—a ridiculous fiction—but to acquaint the Reichstag with the colony's grievances. The matter is a fit sequel to the scandalous treatment of the Akwa chiefs, who were thrown into prison by von Puttkamer for daring to petition the Reichstag to redress their wrongs. District Officer Roehm, fearing Din's disclosures, had first imprisoned Duala Manga, then trumped up a grotesque and ridiculous plot, and cabled home to persuade a Ministry, which was only too glad to hush up the scandal, to sanction Din's imprisonment.

A further examination of the parliamentary records concerning German colonial matters brings more and more evidence to light.

On November 29, 1906, Deputy Kopsch exclaimed in the Reichstag :

“The Imperial Chancellor has stated that the publicity given to these (colonial) scandals has injured Germany’s reputation abroad. I agree with what my colleague, Schaedler, said—that it is not the publicity given to the scandals, but the scandals themselves which have injured Germany’s name in other countries.”

On March 20, 1906, Deputy Ledebour characterised these excesses committed by the Prussian system of administration as the complete negation of justice; and three days later he described how the Togoland natives had been robbed by the great German company which had just acquired their lands at a rate of $2\frac{1}{4}$ centimes per acre. On the 26th Ledebour ended his speech for the day (in which he showed how the Legation Counsel Rose had contradicted himself in the matter of Captain Brandeis, whose guilt he first denied and then admitted) as follows :

“The pitiful thing about it all is, that the administration, as conducted by German officials, does not spread Kultur, but merely breeds in the people a servile spirit. If this is a fact, all you have done is to destroy the people’s spiritual life.”

On May 8, 1907, Ledebour revealed a fact which at that time seemed to disgust some of the deputies, though nowadays it apparently would not make any German turn a hair; namely, that out of 1,800 Hottentot prisoners incarcerated on Sharks Island (Luderitz Bay) 1,200 had died in less than nine months.

The Prussian prison-camp rule of 1914-1917 had nothing to learn, for the kraal-guards of William II. had served an apprenticeship in Africa and knew their business!

On March 17, 1908, Ledebour again criticised the

German colonial system, and gave some edifying facts about the way in which taxes were levied. In a single village 40 natives had been executed because they could not pay up a few marks' worth of taxes. Then, turning to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dernburg himself, he quoted the opinion of blaeks employed as carriers for the journey made by Dernburg from Muansa to Tabora : " No ! We won't go with *him* again ; we were never so beaten in our lives as during Herr Dernburg's expedition."

On December 4, the deputy, Doctor Mueller, read out in the Reichstag a letter published in the *Cologne Gazette*. It described how the magistrate of one district, in order to civilise the natives and teach them to drink out of a glass instead of putting the soda-water bottles to their mouths, had the hardihood to issue an order which condemned to flogging, followed by imprisonment, any native caught drinking from a bottle, and to a heavy fine the retailer who sold him the bottle.

Does not this absurd and eriminal way of looking at things reveal the real nature of the vaunted German Kultur? On April 30, 1912, Deputy Noske explained to the Reichstag the disquieting conclusions to be drawn from statistics of punishments in the German colonies. In East Africa the German judges had in one year passed no fewer than 10,144 sentences of imprisonment. These figures, which are enormous relatively to the population, show to what a state of anarchy and revolt German administration had reduced the colony.

In German South-West Africa floggings had increased from 928 in 1909 to 1,263 in 1910. German tribunals had sentenced 2,371 people in 1910, in this same colony, which has only 70,000 to 80,000 native inhabitants. In the Cameroons 52 persons were sentenced to death, 3,516 to imprisonment, 881 to fines,

and 1,909 to flogging. And the official report stated that flogging sentences had increased by *only* 26 per cent. ! In Togoland sentences numbered 5,206.

On May 1, 1912, Deputy Noske quoted a calculation made by Professor Schillings, a German expert on African affairs, according to which 200,000 natives had been done to death in the German colonies.

On December 3, 1906, Deputy Rosen, while speaking of the floggings to which the blacks were subjected, described the horrible wounds that resulted, and expressed his astonishment at the licence allowed the humblest sub-official or Prussian non-commissioned officer to inflict this shocking torture. These tyrants give all and sundry 25 strokes with a hippopotamus-hide whip for the merest trifle—to a cook because dinner is a bit late or not quite to his master's taste; any excuse serves.

“ Our colonies are nicknamed ‘ the colonies of the twenty-five ’ or ‘ flogging colonies ’ in adjacent French and English colonies.”

On November 28, 1906, Deputy Schaedler asserted that :

“ The history of our colonies contains a great variety of unsavoury features; theft, deceit, sadic cruelty, violations, horrible tortures—all of them such as one would not brag about. A good sweeping and cleaning out by a strong hand is needed in the Colonial Office and among the officials who run our colonies, which should not be asylums for second-rate people. Officials and officers of broken fortunes and bad moral reputation are not, in our opinion, the men needed in our colonies, not even if they be royal princes: but they are admirably suited for dragging the name of Germany—I might even say that of Christianity—in the mud.”

On March 26, 1906, Deputy Storz :

“ Nothing shows better the difference between the German colonial and the British colonial view of the rights of natives than the manner in which justice is administered. The English-

man is responsible, serious, and completely influenced by the guarantees of justice. In German courts, on the contrary, no respect is paid to forms, and, even if the intention to be just exists—and I would not like to say that it does not—the general impression given is that of the supremacy of power and high-handedness. The English District Commissioner has full jurisdiction in small matters only, and an appeal may be made to the English judge who goes on circuit to hear appeals.

“Among us, on the other hand, the officer or colonist, who has no idea of what justice is, is appointed station chief and has power of life and death over the natives. Certainly, a sentence must be confirmed by the Governor before it is carried out, but the report is sent in by the very person who acted as judge. As a consequence the reputation of the German race has suffered. This despotic system, and the utter absence of equity in our colonies, should be put an end to.”

On March 13, 1914—a few months before the war—Deputy Wels thus summed up the state of things in the German colonies :

“Extremely severe strictures have been passed on the development of the Cameroons, and by speakers of nearly all parties. I will remind you only that deputy Erzberger (of the Catholic Centre) brought into this House the letter from the Bishop of the Cameroons, which showed that the Cameroons was suffering from depopulation in an alarming degree, and that only a few wretched remnants of races are left in what, twenty years ago, was a prosperous country.

“That country has been utterly destroyed under the rule and law of the German Empire. The Colonial Secretaries of State have drawn up a whole list of fine instructions for developing the country, but they have done nothing towards granting the population a peaceful self-development.”

III.

We have just reviewed on the one hand the most notable instances of German tyranny in the colonies, and on the other the opinions of Germans themselves about the system which the Berlin Government approves and maintains.

We will now take a number of examples and try to get an insight into German mentality. We have become only too well acquainted with it during the war; it evinces itself always in the same manner.

We have Peters ordering the death of a young negress, his mistress, suspected of infidelity, and stating in his report that he had had her hanged as a "spy"—an easy way out of the business. Who will ever know how many Belgian women condemned on the same charge have paid with their freedom for refusing to yield themselves to the lust of Prussian officers?

And Wegener, demanding delivery of ebony from the Muroka chiefs, and, on encountering a natural enough request for payment, sending troops to the recalcitrant village. There is killing and wounding, and the official report speaks of a "regular fight."

Then, too, the English missionaries in German East Africa who were thrown into prison when the war broke out on the pretext that they were teaching flash-signalling to the natives and arranging signals with acetylene lamps. Now, there were no acetylene lamps in the place. To establish their case, the German officers gave three natives a hundred strokes each and made them give confirmatory evidence.

In the Cameroons, District Commissioner Freiherr von Ludingshausen, member of a well-known family of Prussian generals, had himself attended on his walks by an orderly armed with a cudgel and under orders to strike anybody who did not uncover when the commissioner passed. This is exactly what happened in Zabern in 1913 and happens every day in Belgium.

In South-East Africa we have the case of a native whose extradition, on a charge of swindling, was demanded by the German authorities from those of the

adjacent British colony. The British handed the man over, and he was immediately shot by the Germans. (This case is described in the *Gold Coast Leader* of October 24, 1914.)

Lieut. Fechner organised a native revolt at Batusi in order to win a decoration and promotion for suppressing it.

In German East Africa the authorities seized native women as hostages, to compel their husbands to work—a method applied to families in Alsace Lorraine.

The system of issuing requisition vouchers, which, it is hardly necessary to state, are not honoured, is practically universal. Ridiculous prices are offered for all kinds of things, seized without ceremony and nominally paid for with a piece of old cotton cloth or a bottle of adulterated rum. The natives have now taken to hiding all curiosities of any value, such as carved ivory, carpets and carved wood, since German collections were being increased by them too cheaply.

Is evidence needed to prove that in Africa, as in Europe, German troops have driven civilians (carriers and even native women) in front of them to act as shields?

Questions of morality are among those which require careful handling. There is a general tendency for German officials to have one or more native concubines, but the seduction of minors also is equally prevalent, and the commission of unnatural acts, too, has unhappily been verified. There is too wide an ignorance of the fact that Berlin is one of the most licentious cities in the world: the Eulenburg scandals, which compromised even the inner circles of the Hohenzollern Court, lifted a corner of the veil hiding the deep corruption of Germany. The Germans have been enriched suddenly by trade and become greedy of enjoyment. Under cover of neo-hellenism and artistic exhibitions,

pornographic displays have assumed a popularity in Germany which few people suspect; and a so-called science has lent its aid to unbridled licence. People have even dared to defend in print unnatural acts—crimes of which the Reichstag has been requested to take official notice. When we recall old Krupp and the naked *éphèbes* dancing in the garden of his Capri villa, or read the scandalous chronicles of Berlin, or think of the huge output of pornographic publications in Germany (an edifying collection could be made out of the things of this kind found on German prisoners in astonishing numbers), one no longer is amazed by the evidence that reaches us from the colonies.

What are we to think of Baedeker and Mayer's agent, who bought 24 women, by whom he had 40 children, or of that German opinion about the production of these half-castes without recognised rights: *Wir verschönern die Affenrasse* (we are improving this monkey race)? When the question of intermarrying between whites and natives was brought forward in the Reichstag in May, 1912, Baron von Richthofen, a National Liberal, talked very big about German pride of race. It was nothing that a German should seduce native girls and then abandon them and the children which he had by them, for these Germans who did the natives the honour of "improving" their ape-like bestiality could not condescend to take notice of the common laws of morality and Christianity.

The war has shown us how far the German army has put into practice the vices, brutality, and immorality that harbour in the German soul. In other respects, too, as we have proved above, interesting analogies exist. Everybody is acquainted with the famous declaration of the German "intellectuals" which asserted that all the charges brought against Germany were false. It is a refrain of *Es ist nicht*

wahr (It is not true). The formal denial of actual evidence appears to be a mental perversion. Other people would put forward excuses, arguments, explanations. The German prefers a flat denial.

On March 16th, 1896, Count Arnim, a Conservative, mounted the Reichstag platform to defend his friend Peters. He maintained that Peters had never had any relations with the young negroes whom he had hanged, and drew a picture of the High-Commissioner-explorer as an innocent victim. Doctor Kayser, manager of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, then produced an official document in which Peters himself confessed that the young negress was his mistress. Though the facts were well-known and admitted, Count Arnim still resorted to his *Es ist nicht wahr*.

The Conservative *Post*, Baron von Stuerm's paper, was indignant at this attack on Peters, " especially as he had just been conducting a vigorous campaign in the country for strengthening the Fleet " (April 27th, 1897). What an insight this gives us into that German mentality, whose only anxiety is to apotheosise Prussianism ! What matters the dishonour of its apostles ? The cause comes before everything ; nothing counts but the cause !

What shall he say of the logic of Herr von Bottischer, Minister of the Interior, and of Director Hollwig, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who put up the excuse that the country in which Peters committed his crimes was, at the time, still regarded as foreign territory ? So, if Peter's actions were not considered crimes by the Kilimanjaro natives, who had suffered from them, and if the native chiefs were accustomed to behave in a similar fashion, no charge could lie against Peters. This extraordinary casuistry, which prostituted the civilised world's moral laws in order to allow a German to behave like a cannibal in cannibal country, and like

a bandit in a country of brigands, aroused Bebel's wrath, and he declared that the civilised world would be greatly surprised on learning the Prussian Government's theories of law.

Equally surprised would the civilised world be by the opinion of Doctor P. Rohrbach, the famous linguist, now one of the leading spirits of German propaganda. In 1913 he laid it down that the natives in the German colonies must not be taught to read or write any European language. (See the articles by the German doctor, John Kunst, which appeared in the *African Times* and *Orient Review* in February-March, 1913.)

The German Government practically adopted Rohrbach's recommendations, and, if the missions had not charged themselves with educational work (in German East Africa, in 1904, the State schools contained only 5,000 pupils as against the 70,000 in the mission schools), it would have been a very long time before the native youth got to know German "kultur."

Granted the general tendencies of German colonial policy, which the examples given establish clearly enough, it is quite obvious that the missions could not be particularly popular with the authorities, since missionary work is inspired by diametrically opposed motives. The apostles of Christian charity and equality, no matter what their sect, endeavour, by teaching the Holy Scriptures to the blacks, to elevate their minds and souls and wean them from the evil habits which endanger their salvation. Their influence is thrown into the scales against immorality, indecency, drunkenness, theft, and cruelty. So the missionaries find themselves at odds with unscrupulous officials who made a practice of loose living, disregard the marriage sacrament, encourage the importation of poisonous spirits of the worst quality, merely to profit German

distillers, condone compulsory sales which look uncommonly like theft, and, on their own responsibility, administer the law with ruthless cruelty. The flagrant difference between European morality, as taught by the missionaries and as practised by the officials and colonists, may well puzzle the unfortunate natives.

In 1905, a German traveller named Scholze, issued in Berlin a pamphlet entitled : *Die Wahrheit über die Heiden Mission und ihre Gegner* (The Truth about the Mission to the Heathen and its Opponents). He quoted the complaint of the *Kolonial Zeitschrift* (1905, Part VI.), about " the millions of German money squandered yearly on missions, and the sewing-bees at which foolish women make clothes for little black monkeys " ; that " the converted negro is Africa's most worthless product " ; and that " the men become scoundrels and the women flirts."

Scholze confirms what we said on an earlier page—viz., that the missionaries' endeavours are handicapped by the black's immorality and his consumption of alcohol. The missionaries are regarded as spoil-sports, who spy on the officials and colonists, help the natives to lodge complaints, report acts of injustice, protect the natives from the abuse of power, and so are a regular clog on the free development of the immoral and cruel fancies of the men who represent the Empire's Government and trade. Further, by teaching the natives the Christian doctrine of the equality of all human beings in the sight of God, they do harm to the Prussian creed, which does not recognise this equality, but aims at making colonial native subjects the passive instruments of its economic expansion.

It is obvious that missionaries who are obliged to protest to the Government Council of the Cameroons to get pregnant women and nursing mothers excused forced labour on road construction (*See Report of the*

Bremen merchant, Herr Victor, a member of the German East African Merchants' Union, January, 1914) could not well be welcome in official circles.

Nothing is more significant of this than the step taken by Herr Dernburg; Colonial Secretary of State, to get the Chapter of Cologne Cathedral, which supports the German Catholic missions in Africa, to move the Archbishop to forbid the missionaries to interfere any longer in what did not concern them. (*See the Schmidt case in Togoland, Reichstag Session of December 3rd, 1906.*) In his letter to the Chapter, Dernburg hinted that, if these groundless complaints did not cease, he would find himself compelled to take judicial steps against the missionaries.

The treatment inflicted on the venerable Cardinal Mercier and on the Belgian clergy displays the same mentality. Any attempt to interpose in the name of right and humanity against the tyrannical atrocities of the German must be crushed, no matter how lofty and sacred its object.

IV.

We must now consider another feature of German colonisation—the native army.

In 1899, Captain von Wissmann organised the first native force in German East Africa, containing some Soudanese and Zulu elements, to make head against the Arab rising under Bouchiri. In July, 1914, this body of troops had on its strength 261 Europeans and 2,500 natives. In South-west Africa, there was a white army of 2,000 men, and a police force composed of 800 whites and 250 blacks. In the Cameroons, 1,500 blacks and some non-commissioned officers were commanded by 61 German officers.

When war broke out, the Germans recruited forcibly in East Africa about 15,000 fighting men, and 20,000-25,000 non-combatants, who were paid in "provisional notes," which the Imperial Bank will certainly not take in exchange for hard cash.

We will not speak of the conditions under which war was waged—how the Germans sacrificed the natives without compunction, flogged the refractory, put the carriers in chains, and exposed them to the enemy's fire as screens, etc. We have here a story of martyrdom which, at some future time, will be more fully told. But we will give the following proclamation, issued at Duala on August 8th, 1914, by Ebermaier, Governor of the Cameroons, as it will interest war historians.

TO THE NATIVES OF THE PROTECTORATE.

The German Emperor has called his people to arms against France and Russia, who threaten them. The Russian fleet has been thoroughly beaten. A German army has penetrated Russia and another army has occupied Belgium, and is on the point of invading France.

England is jealous of us because the Germans are more industrious and better men than the English. She was afraid to attack us single-handed, and now has attacked us treacherously in the rear.

The German Empire has enough soldiers and ships to fight successfully even now that England has come in. A powerful and faithful ally, the Emperor of Austro-Hungary, is helping us with soldiers and ships. So, too, is the Sultan of Stamboul, the head of Moslem believers. In Germany no man who can carry a rifle remains at home: all have hastened to fight the enemy, while the women help to care for the wounded and the children gather in the harvest. The whole nation is as one family, and has forgotten all its squabbles and differences.

You, natives, who have lived with Germans for a whole generation, know that Germans, though stern, are just: stern towards the bad, just to the good. Any of you who tries to help our enemies will feel our severity. But those who remain faithful will be rewarded. I, therefore, decree that all men of the police and native Government employees will no longer be subject to

corporal punishment, since they have shown themselves loyal. The same applies to those who have been honourably discharged. The Commander-in-Chief orders the same abolition of corporal punishment in regard to soldiers of the Protectorate. You must plainly understand this: he who serves the Germans loyally will be treated as a German, and will share the privileged position enjoyed by Germans. People of the Cameroons, I hear from Bululand that thousands of Bulus are off to fight the French and Belgians. You will show yourselves equally loyal in this hour of danger, side by side with the Germans. And you will get to see that your choice has been a wise one.

The Imperial Governor,
EBERMAIER.

Ebermaier's *communiqué* of August 8th is a pretty fair specimen of German respect for the truth. It tells of the utter rout of the Russian Fleet, though the only exploits of the German Fleet in the Baltic had been to fire a few rounds at Libau from the cruisers *Augsburg* and *Magdeburg*, which immediately afterwards prudently withdrew; and of the occupation of Belgium as an accomplished fact, though Liège had fallen only the day before.

A notable feature of this proclamation is the sudden abolition by the German authorities of corporal punishment. It is a confession of a bad conscience, of the fear of rebellion and desertion. The wolf becomes a lamb.

The fact that they were so indulgent towards the native troops shows that the leaders did not feel that they had their men any too well in hand, though these men, who had been carefully picked, already enjoyed special privileges. Well paid, well equipped, armed with an excellent rifle, well fed, and well housed, the German African soldier benefited by the favour always extended by the House of Prussia to the armed man, the instrument of its greatness and formidable power. The professional training of these soldiers was exceedingly thorough. They were constantly reviewed

and made to listen to speeches intended to impress their imaginations. They belonged, they were told, to the greatest army in the world. There was only one flag—the German! All others were mere rags. They were invincible, and must make no mistake about that. The soldier's word was never doubted. Evidence given by him in a court of law must not be gainsaid, as it would not do to lessen his authority and prestige by proving him guilty of perjury.

Imbued with such ideas, and sure of impunity, the native soldiers had no scruples about committing all kinds of misdeeds. Those stationed at small posts on the frontiers of neighbouring colonies won a name as highway robbers. Any complaints addressed to the German authorities were taken no notice of, in accordance with the Prussian dogma of the supreme authority of the soldier. When the frontier between Nigeria and the Cameroons was being adjusted, the villagers on both sides asked permission to move their homes a good distance from it, to be out of reach of the German frontier guards.

Previous to 1914, Germany would not use black troops for anything but local purposes, police work and terrorism. The wars conducted in her African colonies, as well as her experiences on the Western Front, have shown her that the warlike negroes possess a high standard of courage and endurance. It cannot be doubted that if, after the war, the colonies were given back to Germany, this knowledge would be turned to account. We should witness the gradual creation of a German African Army, fed by the fourteen million natives under the German domination. All material that might thenceforward not be required in Europe, would find its way to Dar-es-Salaam, Duala, and Lomé, and we should see the Pan-German plan of expansion begin all over again in Africa, to the injury of neighbouring colonies.

As, on the other hand, Parliament and public opinion in France, England, Belgium, and Portugal were formally opposed to the development of militarism in the colonies, we were gradually sinking into a position of inferiority. Yet Germany alleged that the Three Years law—a purely defensive measure—was aimed at her, and condemned as a violation of the *pax Africana* any steps which we might desire to take to prevent this perilous situation and the piling up of armaments—at once ruinous and dangerous—arising afresh on the soil of the Dark Continent.

What, we may ask, would be the ultimate fate of the white minorities were German militarism once established in Africa?

V.

We now approach the end of this cursory account. We have indicated, by convincing examples, the administrative methods employed in its colonies by the German Government; the contempt for the native, who is regarded as mere human cattle; the rule of the good pleasure (and especially of the evil pleasures) of the German official; the glorification of cruel and criminal despots, and forgiveness for all their misdoings because they have worked hard to spread the terror of the German name; the German interpretation of what power means; the despoiling of natives, who have no chance whatever of getting justice done them; inhuman treatment seen in wrongful and often fatal floggings; forced labour; degradation brought about by the importation of alcohol in large quantities. The outcome of these methods has been continual rebellions, all ending in bloodshed. The natives have perished by hundreds of thousands in these colonial wars, while others have died from exhaustion, bad

treatment, or the ravages of alcohol, in the plantations or on the roads which they have had to construct for the Government with strokes of the whip as their only payment. Others, again, have fled into neighbouring colonies ruled by other Powers. From 1914 to 1917, the troops of the Entente have been hailed as liberators wherever they have gone.

When the day of making peace comes, will it be allowable to merely hand her colonies back to Germany? The peace-loving Powers of the Entente were attacked by Germany and Austro-Hungary, and have derived the energy which during all these long months has taken the place of organised preparedness, from the longing to abolish, once and for all, the danger, fatal to all expansion, of a German hegemony being riveted on the neck of the whole world.

We have so many allies, because it was plain that the entire world was taking a definite side in a struggle that has raged for centuries between two principles—Power and Freedom. We are fighting for the setting up of a statute which at last will allow all human beings to breathe freely and to know the sure protection of laws and justice that favour none.

Germany remains faithful to the Hohenzollerns and their ways, and offers no guarantee of fair treatment to the natives of her old colonies. The parliamentary power of the Socialists and some generous minds in the Reichstag has not been able to bring about any change for the better in the course of the last twenty years, nor will it be able to do so in the future, since the war has proved the absolute subservience of those boasted Liberals to the autocratic system by which Germany is governed. It is a question not of policy, but of mentality. *Deutschland über alles* is not a marching song, but a dogma.

Were we to restore her colonies to Germany to-

morrow, we should be guilty of a crime against humanity, for we should expose the natives not only to falling again under the hateful yoke, but to the terrible revenge of their old masters, whose cause they deserted to welcome their liberators.

A letter found in the Cameroons on a German officer, and addressed to one of his comrades, another local official, contained the following reference to the Dualas and Iabassis, two tribes which had long been victimised by the Germans, and quite naturally had gone over to the enemy as soon as the war began:—
 “ Liebe Dualas, liebliche Iabassis, Rache ist süß ”
 (Dear Dualas, beloved Iabassis, revenge is sweet!).
 You may guess what is in store for tribes like these, to whom Ebermaier promised to teach the meaning of German severity!

Can the civilised world possibly hand over 14,000,000 defenceless beings to the machine-guns and lash of German “ Kultur ” without incurring a terrible responsibility? Official Germany put it on record in 1917 that she would not evacuate Belgium unless her colonies were restored. On August 4th, 1914, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg admitted in the Reichstag that the violation of Belgian neutrality was a breach of international law. “ Das Unrecht—ich spreche offen—das Unrecht das wir damit tun, werden wir wieder gut zumachen suchen, sobald unser militarisches Ziel erreicht ist ” (The injustice—I speak openly—the injustice which we have committed we will endeavour to atone for as soon as our military aims are attained.)

For three years Belgium has been dying under the yoke of German tyranny. Nowadays there is no question at all of restoration: the setting free of Belgium is only a lever to employ against the Allies to make them give back the colonies.

In his speech of December 20, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George said :—

“As to the German colonies, that is a matter which must be settled by the great international Peace Congress . . . The wishes, the desires and the interests of those countries must be the dominant factor in settling their future government.”

All minds which love justice should rally round this formula. Opinions are unanimous on this subject. In a recent letter from the Cameroons we read :

“As regards the whole question of German rule in the tropics, the natives are most affected by it, and no arrangement concerning the conquered German colonies should be come to without a proper consideration of the natives who live in them.

“I have no hesitation in saying that, were we to hand over the natives to the mercy of the German officials, those responsible for such an act would be guilty of the most hateful crime imaginable.”

Here is a letter from a Cameroons native, dated August 24, 1915 :—

“We have not seen anything more of a single one of those who went away with the Germans. I am told that they were killed because the Germans are cruel. His Majesty George (King of England) has sent Englishmen and Frenchmen to save us from our enemies. Your sisters and brothers in Christ send their kindest regards to you and your family.”

A Cameroons missionary writes :—

“It would be a regular disaster to the Cameroons natives were Germany allowed to resume her fatal administration of East Africa.”

Another, who had spent twenty years in East Africa, says :—

“It would be disastrous to the natives if Germany again got possession of East Africa. Not only would the Germans treat with special severity those who had shown themselves, in one way or another, well disposed towards the English, but it would do immense damage to England’s prestige among the natives of Central Africa, Uganda and Rhodesia, as showing weakness. Many natives and native chiefs have told me that they had been informed by the Germans that the English possibly might take

East Africa, but that it did not matter, since Germany would be sure to come back and settle up accounts with the natives and their chiefs.

"The recollection of the treatment already meted out to them by the Germans has naturally made the natives cautious, yet most of them have shown themselves well disposed towards the English."

Thus a native Christian of Togoland, August 29, 1914 :—

"Hurrah! Hurrah! We are delivered from the Germans like the Children of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh."

Do we need further evidence, more quotations? The question of the German colonies is one fraught with grave consequences to humanity at large. One cannot compare it with that of annexations, as the latter are contrary to the general principles on which the coming peace must be based.

The German colonies have not existed forty years, and cannot be regarded as territory genuinely German in origin, language, traditions, culture and manners. In official documents Germany speaks of them only as *protectorates*. The term is evidently used ironically, considering how Germany has "protected" the natives of her colonial domains.

Peace should ensure for the world a long era of freedom and progress. But it would not be right, while leaving no stone unturned to obtain justice for some people, to take no account of the rest (fourteen millions of them) merely because they have black skins.

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GREAT⁴ BRITAIN PALESTINE AND THE JEWS



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Great Britain, Palestine and the Jews

*Jewry's Celebration of
Its National Charter*



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PREFACE

[The Declaration by the British Government in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people constitutes the greatest event in the history of the Jews since their dispersion. The manner in which this Declaration has been received and celebrated in Jewish communities both here and abroad has been marked by boundless enthusiasm and overflowing gratitude.

But for the fact that the world is still groaning under the scourge of war the rejoicings by the Jewish people would doubtless have assumed a much more imposing and jubilant character. But the record presented in this publication shows that the House of Israel is fully conscious of the high significance of the pledge of the British Government concerning its restoration.

This pamphlet is intended to give a brief and comprehensive survey of the various forms of celebration in Jewry in honour of the promulgation of the British Charter of Zionism. It is inevitably confined to the events and utterances of the first few weeks following the publication of Mr. Balfour's

historic letter, and cannot therefore include an adequate account of the celebrations in other lands. But it is worthy of note that in addition to the countless secular celebrations, the synagogues also took cognisance of the Government declaration.

Although a political document, Mr. Balfour's letter proclaims the forthcoming fulfilment of what has always been a religious ideal in Jewry; and it was therefore but right that the letter should have been read in numerous synagogues during the Sabbath service and formed the text of countless sermons.

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RESOLUTIONS, STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES
OF ZIONIST ORGANISATIONS

THE CHARTER OF ZIONISM

LETTER FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The following are the terms of the letter to LORD ROTHSCHILD in which MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared the sympathy of the British Government with Zionist aspirations and its favourable attitude towards the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people:

FOREIGN OFFICE,

November 2, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,—I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following Declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

GREAT BRITAIN, PALESTINE AND THE JEWS

RESOLUTIONS, STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES OF ZIONIST ORGANISATIONS

ENGLISH ZIONIST FEDERATION

The Pronouncement of the British Government was received with enthusiasm and expressions of profound gratitude by Zionist Organisations in all the principal Jewish centres of the world. The English Zionist Federation held a special meeting three days after the date of Mr. Balfour's letter, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved that the Executive Council of the English Zionist Federation has received with heartfelt joy and thanks the report of Dr. Weizmann, the President, on the issue of a Declaration by His Majesty's Government in support of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and that it sincerely congratulates the President on having, in conjunction with Mr. Sokolow, brought about this most momentous achievement towards the realisation of the national aspirations of the Jewish people.

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“Further, that the Executive Council begs the hon. officers to convey to His Majesty’s Government, on behalf of the English Zionist Federation, an expression of the respectful and profound sentiments of gratitude evoked among English Zionists by this historic act in the national liberation of the Jewish people, which will for ever shed lustre on the proud traditions of British statesmanship, justice, and liberty.”

THE UNITED STATES

The gratitude felt by the British Zionists was equalled by that felt and expressed by their colleagues in the United States. The Provisional Zionist Committee of New York described the Declaration of the British Government as marking an epoch in Jewish history. “The wise and magnanimous purpose of His Majesty’s Government to use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of the Zionist aim is in consonance with the policy of the British nation respecting the Jews. It is in consonance with the policy of the liberation and protection of small nationalities, which the Entente Powers, including our own Government, have determined shall prevail throughout the world.”

At a Zionist Conference, held in Baltimore, the following resolution was carried unanimously:

“This conference, convened by the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, do

offer Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Mr. Nahum Sokolow its deep-felt congratulations on the part they have had in these negotiations with the British Government, which resulted in the British Declaration favouring re-establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, made by the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour on behalf of the British Cabinet. We ask our associates in London to convey to His Majesty's Government expressions of gratitude from the Jewish people for the Declaration, which is in consonance with the traditions of the British people and in keeping with the aims of Great Britain and her Allies in this war for liberation and justice. Deeply we rejoice in the triumph of British arms in Palestine, and the taking over of Palestine as another step in the march of the Allied Forces which is to establish throughout the world the principles of the invincible integrity of smaller nationalities. For these principles we and our Allies are prepared to make every sacrifice of treasure and life, until the great war shall have ended in the triumph of the high aims of the Allied nations."

RUSSIA

The Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation of Russia expressed the heartiest feelings and thanks of the Russian Zionists for the inspiring Declaration of His Majesty's Government "in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

"No more happy tidings could reach Russian

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Jewry than this timely expression by the British Government of its attitude towards Palestine, and we cannot sufficiently express the importance which we attach thereto. We regard this noble act as a landmark in Jewish history. . . .

We find ourselves particularly fortunate that at this momentous time in the world's history the interests of the British people and those of the Jewish nation should be identical. We also fervently hope and desire that the re-establishment of a Jewish home situated at the gateway of three continents and commanding the world's chief arteries of communication will greatly facilitate the maintenance of international peace, and will serve the cultural ideals of mankind.

His Majesty's Government, in its noble and altruistic declaration, makes mention that in the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities shall not be prejudiced. We Jews who have suffered injustice for so many hundreds of years will never be able to impose any form of inequality on peoples living in Palestine. Furthermore, the spirit of our traditions and teachings forces us to recognise the complete equality of all mankind.

In the annals of Jewish history the sympathy and assistance rendered by the British Government in the regeneration of the Jewish nation can never

be eradicated. In her great beneficence the British Government offered us Jews El-Arish in 1902. Then again she showed us her concrete desire to assist Jewish nationalism by her Uganda offer in 1903. As the highest evidence of the benevolence of His Majesty's Government we see that at this very moment, when her armies are triumphing in Palestine, she is not only offering this assistance towards the re-establishment of a Jewish home, but at the same time she is pledging her great political influence in this worthy undertaking.

In the realisation of one of the greatest problems of the world—namely, the complete liberation of the most oppressed nation of all times—the British Government will give certain evidence to posterity that the many sacrifices she has made in this disastrous struggle were not made in vain, but were made for the greater enlightenment of the world.”

FRANCE

The Fédération Sioniste de France sent the British Government a message of congratulation on the occupation of Jerusalem. They associated with that historic event the equally historic Declaration of the British Government in favour of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, and welcomed the advent of the promised day when the ancient people of the Book would, with the help of the glorious

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Allies, restore their ancient home on the beloved soil of their ancestors.

HOLLAND

At a meeting of the Netherlands Zionist Federation there was repeated applause at a reference to Mr. Balfour's statement of accord with Zionist aims which, said the President, had given great joy to almost the whole of Jewry. Mr. Jean Fischer said that the Declaration of the British Government regarding Zionism was an historical fact of far-reaching significance. The British Government had earned the everlasting gratitude of the Jewish people. It was resolved to send the following telegram to the English Zionist Federation: "The eighteenth General Convention of the Netherlands Zionist Federation expresses its gratitude to the British Government for its sympathetic attitude towards Zionism, and for its Declaration that it will do its best to contribute to the fulfilment of the Zionist programme.—LIEME, President; VAN VRIESLAND, Secretary."

GERMANY

A German Zionist Conference, held in Berlin, adopted the following resolution:

"The German Zionist Association greets with satisfaction the fact that the British Government has recognised in an official Declaration the right of the Jewish people to a national existence in Palestine."

A large number of other messages were received by the London Zionist Bureau from Zionist Organisations in all parts of the world.

CANADA

The Canadian Zionist Federation cabled: "Cordial greetings from Canadian Zionists. Overwhelming majority Canadian Jews hail with utmost enthusiasm and gratitude Declaration British Government regarding Palestine and Jewish people. This Declaration is one of the most momentous in Jewish history. What Britain promises she will fulfil. The undying hopes for which Jews suffered martyrdom for twenty centuries will now be realised and Israel reborn. It means full accomplishment of Basle programme."

SWITZERLAND

From the Union of Swiss Zionists came: "The Swiss Zionist Federation having taken note, with the greatest satisfaction, of the Declaration of His Britannic Majesty's Government concerning the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, heartily congratulates you on the great success. The Declaration of Mr. Balfour coincides with our Zionist aims. We hope that all the nations of the world will support these aims and thereby in a like manner assure themselves of the deep gratitude of the Jewish people."

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BELGIUM

The Belgian Zionist Federation, temporarily domiciled in the Hague, welcomed with enthusiasm "the important Declaration of His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Jewish people. It is deeply grateful to the magnanimity of His Britannic Majesty's Government for recognising the legitimate national aspirations of the Jewish people to Palestine and heartily congratulates you on the triumph which crowns the Zionist effort."

SCANDINAVIA

The Norwegian Zionist Federation's message ran:

"Though small, Norway's Zionistic Jewry joins gladly the elder Zionist Associations the world over in congratulating you heartily on great success as recorded by Mr. Balfour's Declaration of willingness of British Government to fully endorse and assist realisation our Palestine hopes. We record joyfully this essential step forward, doubly welcome in times of tribulation, and trust in further crowning with success of all your endeavours."

At Stockholm the Scandinavian Zionist Association held a crowded meeting at which an expression of lively satisfaction was passed at the recent Declaration of His Majesty's Government regarding the future Jewish settlement in Palestine. A resolu-

tion was passed unanimously welcoming the action of His Majesty's Government and binding all present to use every effort to secure a national future for the Jewish people.

SALONICA

The Committee of the Jewish Congress in Salonica sent a message to the following effect:

“Le Comité du Congrès juif de Salonique a reçu avec une joie indicible communication de la déclaration faite par le gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique relativement à la reconstitution de la nationalité juive en Palestine ; son émotion est grande de voir les aspirations nationales du peuple juif recevoir une consécration aussi éclatante qui lui est donnée aujourd’hui par la grande et libérale nation anglaise. Les Israélites de Salonique communiant avec le judaïsme universel expriment au gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique leur profonde reconnaissance et forment des vœux chaleureux pour le triomphe final du droit, de la justice et du principe des nationalités si vaillamment défendus par l’Angleterre et ses Alliés.”

RESOLUTIONS OF OTHER JEWISH
ORGANISATIONS

RESOLUTIONS OF OTHER JEWISH ORGANISATIONS

JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION

At a meeting of the British Headquarters' Council of the Jewish Territorial Organisation it was unanimously resolved to welcome the statement of the Government expressing sympathy with Jewish aspirations, and the Jewish Territorial Organisation, "founded to procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot, or will not, remain in the lands in which they at present live," declared its readiness to co-operate with the Zionists in devising a scheme for the development of Palestine in accordance with its programme.

JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

A meeting of the Jewish Board of Deputies adopted the following resolution:

"That this Board desires to convey its grateful thanks to His Majesty's Government for its sympathetic interest in the Jews as manifested by the letter addressed to Lord Rothschild by the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, dated November 2, 1917, which has been published in the Press."

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ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION

'At a special meeting of the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association it was resolved:

"That the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association desires to convey its grateful thanks to His Majesty's Government for its sympathetic interest in the Jews, as manifested by the letter of the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, dated November 2, 1917, addressed to Lord Rothschild, and published in the Press."

THE ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH

At a meeting of the London Lodge of the Order the following resolution was adopted:

"That the First Lodge of England of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant) conveys to His Majesty's Government an expression of heartfelt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action has been received with profound appreciation by all sections of the Jewish community as the crowning evidence of the goodwill entertained by Britain towards the Jewish people."

In addition to the resolutions adopted by the foregoing leading organisations, resolutions in a similar strain have been passed by a very large number of Jewish Communal Councils, Congregational Com-

mittees, Literary Societies, Friendly Benefit Societies, Trade Unions, etc., in all parts of the United Kingdom.

RUSSIA

Greetings on the occasion of the Declaration of the British Government supporting the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine arrived at Zionist headquarters in Petrograd from all parts of the country. The council of the Jewish community in Moscow, which has been elected for the first time on the basis of universal suffrage, carried, at an extraordinary meeting, a resolution in which they regarded it as their joyful duty to hail the initiative of the British Government, and expressed their firm conviction that the British Government's Declaration would call forth a most lively response, as well as the greatest effort on the part of the whole of Jewry.

GREECE

The publication by the Press of Athens of the Declaration made by Mr. Balfour aroused the utmost enthusiasm among the Jews of Greece. Dr. Coffinas, who is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, paid a visit to Lord Granville, the British Minister, to convey the gratitude of his co-religionists to that nation whom a Divine mission had inspired to deliver the holy places from the yoke of barbarians.

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MM. David Florentin and Joseph Usiel, on behalf of the Zionist Societies and the entire Jewish population of Salonika, sent the following telegram to Dr. Weizmann and M. N. Sokolow:

“Fortified in the millenary hope for the national resurrection, consequent on the deliverance of Jerusalem and the whole of Southern Palestine, we beg you to convey to the Government of His Britannic Majesty our profound gratitude for its historic Declaration concerning the restoration of our people on its ancestral soil, and our most ardent wishes for the decisive triumph of the English and Allied arms, and the realisation, without restrictions, of the noble promises that the British Government has made to the Zionist Organisation of which you are in England the valiant champions.”

MOROCCO

Representative Jewish residents of Tangier expressed on behalf of the whole Jewish population of Morocco their highest appreciation and heartfelt gratitude for the action of the British Government in Palestine. The Jews of Morocco, they said, were only lately freed from the political and social disadvantages under which they had lived, and the promise of the British Government awakened new religious hopes and aspirations among that long-suffering and worthy people.

VIEWS OF JEWISH LEADERS



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In addition to the views expressed by Jewish leaders in the speeches reported in this pamphlet, the following opinions have been declared.

DR. JECHIEL TCHLENOW, *Vice-President, Executive Committee of the Zionist Organisation.*

The Declaration of His Majesty's Government has changed the aspect of our movement. We have now the promise of Great Britain—that traditional friend of small nations—to use its best endeavours to assist us in the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The World's History, and in particular Jewish history, will inscribe in its pages this deed in letters of gold.

THE RIGHT HON. HERBERT SAMUEL, M.P.,

I rejoice wholeheartedly in the pronouncement that has been made by the British Government with respect to Palestine. I support the policy because it will furnish to the genius of the Jewish race an opportunity of again giving to mankind a brilliant and distinctive civilisation, and secondly for the sake of the ennobling influence on the millions of the

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Jewish proletariat who must continue to remain scattered throughout the countries of the world, which a successful Jewish Palestine could not fail to exercise.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD ROTHSCHILD, F.R.S.

I consider that the Declaration is the most important pronouncement yet made, as it is the first recognition by a Great Power of the real status of the Jewish people, and that it ought therefore to find a wholehearted support from all Jews. I also consider it not only the first step towards restoring Palestine to its ancient prosperity, but also the first step in constructive policy necessitated by the war and its inevitable aftermath of necessary changes and reconstruction.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR ALFRED MOND, Bart., M.P.

First Commissioner of Works

The establishment in their old land, under the ægis of the British Government, of a home where the Jewish people will be at liberty to develop their national genius and freely to exercise their virtues of industry, thrift, and organisation in their own way marks an epoch in the world's history. The development in recent years of the Jewish colonies in Palestine, whose success under the most unfavourable and depressing conditions has been phenomenal,

has always deeply impressed me, and gives assurance of still greater success in the future. There are some who seem to think that the policy adopted is likely to damage the position of those Jews—and there must be many millions of them throughout the world—who will remain, as in the past, identified with and loyal and patriotic citizens of the countries of their birth and residence, and that the establishment of a national home in Palestine will, in particular, prejudice British Jews in the eyes of their fellow-citizens. I do not share and never have shared their view. In my opinion quite the reverse will be the case. The dignity and importance of our whole race will be enhanced by the existence of a national home where those of our people who have been compelled to live under less favourable conditions than we enjoy will be able to establish themselves on the soil of their ancestors.

MR. NATHAN STRAUS, *New York*

My heartfelt congratulations upon the announcement of His Majesty's Government, made by Mr. Balfour. American Jews are deeply moved by the good tidings; before our countries and their Allies lies the task of winning the war for liberation and justice and the sanctity of international relations, to the end that the sacredness of the right of small nations may never again be violated. This is the day

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which the Lord hath made; let us be glad and rejoice therein.

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, *Chairman Provisional Zionist Committee, New York*

The Declaration has transferred Zionism from the field of national aspirations to the realm of political fact. Not in centuries has any word been spoken of equally vital consequence to the well-being of Israel.

Two things may be assumed on the basis of the historic utterance of the British Minister of Foreign Affairs: the one that Britain is not acting alone. It is not for us to predicate that England has spoken and acted in concert with her Allies, but we are justified in believing that England, ever working in closest co-operation with her Allies in the War, will in the day of peace find herself not only supported by France and Italy, but above all by the American Government and people, which, under the leadership of President Wilson, must needs insist that the destruction of the Prussian ideal must be followed by the establishment and maintenance of the integrity of the lesser nations. The other fact that is bound inevitably with the Declaration of the British Cabinet is that it is to be taken for granted that opposition to Zionism is ended.

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK, *Chicago*

American Jews, citizens of this great Republic, and owing to it their sole and undivided allegiance and loyalty, rejoice with the Jews of all countries that the British Government has issued this epoch-making Declaration.

The dreams and prayers of twenty centuries, embodied in the famous Basle Zionist declaration that Palestine may again become the homeland of the Jewish people, secured and recognised as such by the law of the nations, is approaching realisation.

MR. ADOLPH KRAUS, *President Independent Order B'nai B'rith, U.S.A.*

The Declaration by the British Government that it is ready to support the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine gains additional significance by reason of the progress which the British Forces are making in Palestine. The declaration must have the effect of gaining for the Zionist cause the support of even such Jews as have hitherto been indifferent or opposed to the movement, for no Jew can consistently oppose the establishment of a Jewish homeland, be it ever so small.

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING MEETING AT THE LONDON OPERA HOUSE

The greatest and most imposing public meeting ever held in the history of British Jewry was that which took place on Sunday, December 2, 1917, at the London Opera House, for the purpose of thanking the British Government for its declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. The building was crowded with an enthusiastic audience representative of all sections of the Anglo-Jewish community. Delegates were present from nearly all Jewish congregations, organisations, institutions, and societies in the United Kingdom. The chair was taken by Lord Rothschild.

LORD ROTHSCHILD said they were met on the most momentous occasion in the history of Judaism for the last 1800 years. They were there to return thanks to His Majesty's Government for a Declaration which marked an epoch in Jewish history of outstanding importance. For the first time since the Dispersion the Jewish people had received its proper status by the Declaration of one of the Great

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Powers. The Declaration, while acknowledging and approving of the aspirations of the Jewish people for a national home, at the same time placed Jews on their honour to respect the rights and privileges not only of their prospective non-Jewish neighbours in Palestine, but also of those of their own people who did not see eye to eye with the Zionist cause. Feeling as he did that the aims of Zionism were in no way incompatible with the highest patriotism and loyal citizenship of the Jews in the various countries in which they were dwelling, he would like the meeting in passing the resolution which would be submitted to them to assure the Government that they would, one and all, faithfully observe both the spirit and the letter of their gracious Declaration. (Cheers.) He felt sure that the principal aim of the Zionists was to provide a national home for those portions of the Jewish people who wished to escape the possibilities in the future of such oppression and ill-treatment as they had endured in the past and he therefore held that all and every section of opinion in the Jewish people could work together for the establishment in Palestine of such a home, so as to make it a triumphant success.

LORD ROTHSCHILD then moved the following resolution:

“That this mass meeting, representing all sections of the Jewish community in the United Kingdom, conveys to His Majesty’s Government an expression of heartfelt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national

home for the Jewish people. It assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action in support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people has evoked among Jews the most profound sentiments of joy. This meeting further pledges its utmost endeavours to give its whole-hearted support to the Zionist cause."

LORD ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P., who was received with loud cheering, said:

I have come here with the greatest possible pleasure at the request of those who represent, or who have led the representation of the Zionist movement of this country, to offer to you and to all Zionists my hearty congratulations on the event which you are celebrating to-day. (Cheers.) And perhaps you will allow me to mention in connection with these congratulations, not only your Chairman, but also M. Nahum Sokolow and Dr. C. Weizmann, who have done so much for the cause that we all have at heart this afternoon. Surely all of us must feel what a very striking gathering the present one is. The keynote of our meeting this afternoon is liberation. (Cheers.) We welcome among us not only the many thousands of Jews that I see, but also representatives of the Arabian and Armenian races who are also in this great struggle struggling to be free. (Hear, hear.) Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judæa for the Jews. (Applause.) Yes, and let us add, if it can be so, let Turkey, real Turkey, be for the Turks.

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I should like to be allowed to say that the part that this country is taking in this movement is not a new thing. (Hear, hear.) I venture to claim for this country that in supporting Zionism it has been merely carrying out its traditional policy. To me, at any rate, it seems that there are two great foundations upon which the policy of this country has always been based. I believe they are often described by the two words "Liberty" and "Justice." Perhaps more accurately they may be called the supremacy of the Law and Liberty, for, be well assured, if we are ever to obtain that security which we have been recently told is so important to us, if we are ever to lift European civilisation and national relations in Europe out of the anarchy in which they at present are, it must be by the same means by which we have secured liberty and happiness in each country, namely, by the supremacy of Law.

As for the second foundation of which I have spoken, and which has more practical bearing on our proceedings this afternoon, may I say this: We hear a great deal of a new word, "Self-determination." Well, I don't know that it is a new thing. It certainly is not new in the British Empire. The Empire has always striven to give to all the peoples that make it up the fullest measure of self-government of which they are capable. (Hear, hear.) We have always striven to give to all peoples within our bounds complete liberty and equality before the Law. (Hear, hear.) We are adjured to respect the principle of self-determination; but I say that the British Empire was the first organisation to teach that prin-

ciple to the world, and one of the great causes for which we are in this war is to secure to all peoples the right to govern themselves and to work out their own destiny, irrespective of the threats and menaces of their greater neighbour. (Hear, hear.)

One of the great steps—in my judgment, in some ways the greatest step—we have taken in carrying out this principle is the recognition of Zionism. This is the first constructive effort that we have made in what I hope will be the new settlement of the world after the war. (Cheers.) I do not say that that is the only thing involved. It is not only the recognition of a nationality—it is much more than that. It has great underlying ideals of which you will hear this afternoon and of which it would be impertinent of me to speak. It is, indeed, not the birth of a nation, for the Jewish nation through centuries of oppression and captivity have preserved their sentiment of nationality as few people could; but if it is not the birth of a nation, I believe we may say it is the re-birth of a nation. (Applause.) I don't like to prophesy what ultimate results that great event may have, but for myself I believe it will have a far-reaching influence on the history of the world and consequences which none can foresee on the future history of the human race. (Loud cheers.)

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL, M.P., who received an enthusiastic welcome, said:

I rejoice wholeheartedly in the pronouncement that has been made by the British Government with respect to Palestine. It is a policy which for nearly

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three years I have urged in the Cabinet and out of the Cabinet at every opportunity that arose. (Cheers.) The fears and the doubts which this policy has evoked are, I firmly believe, unfounded. Three conditions must indeed be observed in any new developments that may take place in Palestine. In the first place, there must be full, just recognition of the rights of the Arabs, who now constitute the majority of the population of that country. Secondly, there must be a reverent respect for the Christian and Mohammedan holy places, which in all eventualities should always remain in the control and charge of representatives of those faiths. (Cheers.) In the third place, there must be no attempt now or in the future to establish anything in the nature of political authority from Palestine over the Jews scattered in other countries of the world, who must probably always remain the great majority of the Jewish race. There should be no disturbance, large or small, direct or indirect, in their national status or in their national rights and duties in the countries of which they are, or should be, full and equal citizens. On all these matters there is no divergence of opinion in any quarter, and the controversies that have taken place, I venture to think, are disputes over differences that do not exist.

The reason why, for my own part, I support the policy which we are here to-day to approve and celebrate are chiefly these. First, it may be that the genius of the Jewish race will again be able to give to the world a brilliant and distinctive civilisation. (Cheers.) The richness of mankind lies in its diversity. We do not want the world to be like some

great library, consisting of nothing but innumerable copies of one and the same book. The Jewish mind is a distinctive thing. It combines in remarkable degree the imaginative and the practical, the ideal and the positive. This combination of qualities enabled it for 1500 years in Palestine to produce an almost unbroken series of statesmen and soldiers, judges and poets, prophets and seers—thinkers and leaders who have left for all time their impress upon the world. The Jewish mind is tenacious and persists, and now, when all the powerful Empires that overran that land have been overthrown and almost forgotten, the Jewish people exists and is more numerous to-day than it ever has been at any period of its history. Who knows, I say, but that if again it finds a spiritual centre of its own, soundly based on an industrious population, untrammelled, self-contained, inspired by the memories of a splendid past, it may again produce golden fruits in the fields of intellect for the enrichment of the whole world. (Cheers.)

And my other reason is this: If this comes to be, what a helpful effect it would have upon the Jewish proletariat that will still remain scattered in other countries of the world! I see in my mind's eye those millions in Eastern Europe all through the centuries, crowded, cramped, proscribed, bent with oppression, suffering all the miseries of active minds denied scope, of talent not allowed to speak, of genius that cannot act. I see them enduring, suffering everything, sacrificing everything in order to keep alight the flame of which they knew themselves to be the lamp, to keep alive the idea of which they

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knew themselves to be the vessel, to preserve the soul of which they knew themselves to be the body; their eyes always set upon one distant point, always believing that somehow, some day, the ancient greatness would be restored; always saying when they met in their families on Passover Night, "Next year in Jerusalem." Year after year, generation following generation, century succeeding century, till the time that has elapsed is counted in thousands of years, still they said, "Next year in Jerusalem." If that cherished vision is at last to be realised, if on the Hills of Zion a Jewish civilisation is restored with something of its old intellectual and moral force, then among those left in the other countries of the world I can see growing a new confidence and a new greatness. There will be a fresh light in those eyes, those bent backs will at last stand erect, there will be a greater dignity in the Jew throughout the world. (Cheers.)

That is why we meet to-day to thank the British Government, our own Government—(cheers)—that has made all this possible, that we shall be able to say, not as a pious and distant wish, but as a near and confident hope, "Next year in Jerusalem"—לשנה הבאה בירושלים—(Loud and prolonged cheers).

COLONEL SIR MARK SYKES said:

When one thinks of the years that have passed, of the immense spaces of history which stand between what was and now is promised to-day, truly one is dazzled—one is dazzled by the possibility of the prospects which open before us. I say I am speak-

ing to you as a watcher, but you in a sense perhaps also are watchers; perhaps you see as I see an Asia stricken with plagues and cumbered with ruins and a Europe a welter of blood. Perhaps you too see those two things, and I pray that you realise that it may be your destiny to be the bridge between Asia and Europe; to bring the spirituality of Asia to Europe and the vitality of Europe to Asia. I firmly believe that is the mission of Zionism. I see here something which is greater than the dream even of a League of Nations, which is a dream of a League of Races and finally a League of Ideals. There is the great vision; that is what may, that is what does, I believe, lie before you.

But no person realises more than I do—I know the ground, some of it, and boldly I dare to say that there lie before you dangers, difficulties, and possible obstructions; but, ladies and gentlemen, your time of probation has been long. You are schooled in adversity; you can look on difficulties with calm, and you will overcome them. I do not look for a sudden magic transformation. No; but I believe that you are beginning a great and beneficial and irresistible transition. That is what you are beginning.

Now, I believe, you are going to set up a power which is not a domination of blood or a domination of gold, but a domination of intellectual force. I believe you will see in Palestine a great centre of ideals radiating out to every country in the world where your people are. And if there is one thing that gives me great pleasure here to-day it is to feel that you—at this turning-point in your history,

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when the Government made its Declaration—you thought not only of yourselves, but you thought also—and afterwards you will look back with joy on the fact—when the hope of redemption was held out to you, you thought not only of yourselves but also of your fellows in adversity, the Armenians and the Arabs. (Loud cheers.)

The CHIEF RABBI said it was indeed a rare privilege to take part in that wonderful meeting called together to express the heartfelt thanks of British Jewry for the striking sympathy of His Majesty's Government with Jewish aspirations. The epoch-making Declaration on Palestine was an assurance given by the mightiest of empires that the new order which the Allies are now creating at such sacrifice of life and treasure shall be rooted in righteousness, and broad-based on the liberty of and reverence for *every* oppressed nationality. It was a solemn pledge that the oldest of national tragedies shall be ended in the coming re-adjustment of the nations which shall console mankind for the slaughter and waste and torment of this terrible world-war. In the face of an event of such infinite importance to the Jewish people, ordinary words of appreciation or the usual phrases of gratitude were hopelessly weak and inadequate. For the interpretation of their true feelings to-day they must turn to Scripture. Twenty-five hundred years ago Cyrus issued his edict of liberation to the Jewish exiles in Babylon; and an eye-witness of that glorious day had left them in the 126th Psalm a record of how their fathers received the announcement of their deliverance. "When the

Lord brought back those that returned to Zion"—היינו כחלמים—"we were like unto them that dream. Then said they among the nations: 'The Lord hath done great things for them.' The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad." Theirs was a similar feeling of joy and wonder. With them likewise it was the astonishment of the nations, the reassuring approbation of statesmen and rulers that caused them to exclaim: "We will see it done, and done consummately, the thing so many have thought could never be done!" (Cheers.) The spirit of the Declaration was that of absolute justice, whether to Jews out of Palestine or to non-Jews in Palestine. They especially welcomed in it the reference to the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. That was but a translation of the basic principle of the Mosaic legislation. (Cheers.) But it was the substance of the Declaration—the promise of a national home for the Jewish people—that filled their souls with gladness. For only on its own soil could the Jewish people live its own life and make, as in the past it had made, its characteristic and specific contributions to the spiritual treasure of humanity. After the proclamation issued by Cyrus, the mass of the Jewish people still remained in Babylon. All told, only 42,000 men, women, and children took advantage of the King's proclamation and followed Ezra back to Zion, the land of their fathers. But that handful of Zionists and their descendants, because living on their own soil, changed the entire future of mankind. They edited and collected the Prophets, wrote some of the fairest portions of the Scriptures, formed the canon

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of the Bible, and gave the world its monotheistic religions. (Cheers.) Now, as then, only "a remnant shall return"—שאר ישוב. But now, as then, it was the national rejuvenation of that remnant that is to open a new chapter in the annals of the human spirit. Difficulties? Of course there were difficulties. The task of laying the foundations of a new Israel must be one of long toil and severe trial. But a people that for twenty-five centuries had stood victoriously against the storm of time possessed vitality enough, patience enough, idealism enough, with the help of God, to rise to the level of this unique, world-historic opportunity. (Loud cheers.)

DR. M. GASTER said that he stood before them as an old friend, deeply imbued with the spirit of faith, a dreamer of visions, if they would. What appeared to so many as a dream had now become a reality—(cheers)—and they were gathered there to begin to reap in joy what they had sown in tears and sorrow. It was for all of them a day of joy to see the fruits which they had so long wished for. They had come together to thank the British Government for their Declaration of sympathy with their national aspirations. Therein lay the greatness of the British Government, that it had lifted the problem from its local geographical character and given to it that universally valued importance which they attached to it. What they wished to obtain in Palestine was not merely a right to establish colonies, or educational, cultured, or industrial institutions. They wanted to establish in Palestine an autonomous Jewish Commonwealth in the fullest sense of the word.

The Great Thanksgiving Meeting 49

They wanted Palestine to be Palestine of the Jews and not merely a Palestine for Jews. They wished the land to be again what it was in olden times and what it had been for Jews in their prayers and in their Bible—a land of Israel. The ground must be theirs. (Cheers.) They stood indeed as a people for the same programme as British statesmen were standing to-day in a larger sphere. Jews stood for reparation, restitution, and guarantees—(cheers)—and it was in the very application of those principles that the greatness and importance of the Declaration of the British Government stood out so luminously. England owed to Jews no reparation. Here they had liberty, full freedom, equality of right and equality of duty, and they had risen to the responsibility which had thus been placed upon them. For many of them there had their children now fighting the battles of England.

But the British Government had now made itself the champion of reparation to the Jewish people for the wrongs done to them by the world. It had made itself a champion too of the restitution of the land to our nation, for whom it is the old inheritance, and it had given them a guarantee—security of tenure, independence, a right and freedom of action as a people in their ancient land. The establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in the land of their fathers would also consolidate and clarify the position of the rest of the Jews throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) He believed that a new world was to arise in which the Jew, as Jew, would find himself a free man.

In conclusion, he reminded them of an old legend which told that when the Temple was destroyed the

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stones split into splinters and each one entered the heart of a Jew. It was this memorial of our fallen nation which the Jew carried in his bosom and which bent his back. But they were coming together once again as a nation in Palestine, and they would take the splinters of the stones from out of their hearts—"and," exclaimed Dr. Gaster, "I feel the stone in my heart already loosening." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

SHAHK ISMAIL ABDUL-AL-AKKI then addressed the meeting. He spoke in Arabic, and his speech was translated by Mr. I. Sieff, who mentioned that the speaker was under sentence of death by the Turkish Government for having joined the Arab national movement. Shahk Ismail said he desired to tender deep gratitude to the British nation and the British Government for affording his countrymen and himself help and asylum in their hour of persecution. His country was held in chains by the Turks, who were supplied with German gold, and he looked with confidence to England and France to deliver them from bondage, as he believed in the ultimate good over evil, and was confident in the victory of the Allies. He not only spoke as an Arab, but as a "Moslem" Arab, having studied five years in Theological Schools and being granted a Degree, and it was the duty of every Moslem to participate in the movement for the liberation of their countrymen. The meeting was to celebrate the great act of the British Government in recognising the aspirations of the Jewish people, and he appealed to them not to forget in the days of their happiness that

the sons of Ishmael suffered also. They had been scattered and confounded as the Jews had been, and now began to arise, fortified with the sense of martyrs. He hoped that Palestine would again flow with milk and honey. (Cheers.)

M. WADIA KESRAWANI, a Syrian Christian, spoke in French, also to the effect that his countrymen appealed to England and France for their liberation, and applauded the Declaration of the Government.

MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said:

In my capacity of President of the Jewish Territorial Organisation I have been honoured with an invitation to appear on your platform on this momentous occasion. In that capacity I have often criticised your leaders. But to-day I am here not for criticism but for congratulation and co-operation. I congratulate them, and especially Dr. Weizmann and M. Sokolow, upon their historic achievement in the region of diplomacy. To see that this is followed by a similar achievement in the more difficult region of practice is the duty of all Israel. Particularly is it the duty of the Ito, founded as it was to procure a territory upon an autonomous basis.

But I do not come to the Government, as Lord Morley tells us the Kaiser came to him, with mock salaams and marks of Oriental obeisance, for I have long maintained that after a war for liberty and the rights of small nations this very reparation was

due to that unhappy, scattered and divided people which has bled and suffered with all the belligerents. And as an English-born citizen I am proud that my country by this pro-Jewish manifesto has wiped out the stain of her alliance with the fallen Pharaoh. But whatever the general Jewish gratitude for this extension of the principles of nationalities, the Jews in Turkey and other now enemy countries are as loyal to their fatherland as we are to ours, and we who stand here can have no claim to pledge the race to any Power or Powers. All we can say is that happily the vast majority are concentrated in those Allied and democratic countries with which they are in natural affinity. Particularly close is their affinity with the English. But it is not surprising that the nation whose noble version of our Scriptures has made the Bible almost a British possession should vibrate to Jewish national aspirations.

From the first the formula of the Ito has run, "To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot, or will not, remain in the lands in which they at present live." For those and for those only. Not for those who can or will remain in their present lands. With these there may be a spiritual connection, there cannot be a political. And to-day, when, to quote your great leader, Max Nordau, "the period of rhetoric is over, the hour of deeds is approaching," I am glad to have the assurance of the Zionist leaders here that they unreservedly accept the Government's stipulation that "nothing shall be done which might prejudice the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any

other country." Once Zionism is established on this sound basis, not only does its formula become identical with the Ito's, but I can see no reason why all Israel should not co-operate with both organisations in developing Palestine as a Jewish national home for those Jews who can or will go there. To diminish the risks of confusion, let Palestine be called what Lord Robert Cecil called it, Judæa, and let the Jews who adopt its citizenship be called Judæans. Then all the others will remain as before, Jews—Jews of whatever political allegiance they choose. A national home in Palestine—freedom and equal rights everywhere else; here surely is a platform that can unite all Israel, and so far as I can see it is uniting them.

I do not say that this autonomy must come at a bound. Though in my opinion the boldest way is always the best way and responsibility is a people's best educator, yet I am prepared to make all possible concessions to circumstances and history. But unless the Palestine colonisation is so planned that it must eventually produce the national autonomous home I for one will not devote my limited strength to such a mockery of Jewish aspirations. The times are too serious and tragic for such trifling. Mount Zion is in labour. Shall it produce a mouse? No, it must produce a lion—the lion of Judah.

Seven crusades to the Holy Land have all meant massacre for the Jews; if the eighth crusade is to mean Palestine for the Jews, if it is to be truly a Christian crusade, then that very fact is a proof of a new world-order of love and justice. Let us Jews, the people of Isaiah, at such a turning-point in his-

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tory, make a great act of faith, and, instead of disavowing the brotherhood of Israel, let us proclaim from our Jerusalem centre the brotherhood of man.

But this spiritual work is not all that calls to us. Palestine is a place full of stones and fever. It is a land whose main bulk lies almost as desolate as the plains of Flanders—ruined not by German war, but by Turkish peace, by centuries of neglect and misgovernment. With the depletion of the world's resources, and especially of the world's manpower, by this terrible war, who is to win this country for civilisation if not we Jews? Even if we had no historic connection with it, that would be a worthy mission for a people. Let me appeal therefore to the British Jews to work with us and to work loyally. For even at the best the goal is far. Palestine is not yet ours, and even when it is, our work, despite the pioneers we shall always honour—despite even Baron Edmond de Rothschild—will only begin. Already under the ægis of England our young men have died there. But eagerly as our young men have sacrificed themselves in Palestine for war, still more eagerly will they offer themselves there for the labours and sacrifices of peace. That will be the true Jewish Regiment.

And though our goal be yet far, and though we may not rejoice, yet already when I recall how our small nation sustained the mailed might of all the great empires of antiquity; how we saw our Temple in flames and were scattered like its ashes; how we endured the long night of the Middle Ages, illumined by the glare of our martyrs' fires; how but yesterday

we wandered in our millions, torn between the ruthless Prussian and the pitiless Russian, yet have lived to see to-day the bloody Empire of the Czars dissolve and the mountains of Zion glimmer on the horizon, already I feel we may say to the other nations: "Comfort ye, comfort ye, too, poor suffering peoples. Learn from the long patience of Israel that the spirit is mightier than the sword, and that the seer who foretold his people's resurrection was not less prophetic when he proclaimed also for all peoples the peace of Jerusalem." (Loud cheers.)

M. H. N. MOSTDITCHIAN, a member of the Armenian Delegation, said he availed himself of the opportunity of giving their Jewish brethren the heartiest greetings of the Armenians—(cheers)—and sincerest congratulations for the dawn about to break upon the glad valleys of their ancestral land. He made a comparison of the two nations who had gone through the same persecutions, but who, notwithstanding, were not willing to die, and had not died—(cheers)—and who stood to-day hand-in-hand on the eve of a new era, when both of them would be able to live once more their national lives, of which they had given good evidence in the past. They all knew that Armenia was one of the first countries mentioned in the history of the Jews, and there had reigned one thousand two hundred years ago a dynasty of Armenian kings who had in their veins a good deal of Jewish blood. After the loss of their independence the Jews had continued to live a life of captivity and exile, and the Armenians, after the loss of their independence, had suffered the same

exile. It was not the time to say what the Armenians had suffered during the last three years—a state of things to which the worst pogrom was a heaven; but they, as well as the Jews, looked towards “tomorrow” with great fervour as a result of the Declaration. They had waited long enough with their Jewish brethren, for centuries and centuries, and these two nations as well as the Arabs would make Palestine another Promised Land and a Garden of Eden—a centre to which humanity might look up. (Cheers.)

MR. NAHUM SOKOLOW said that the Zionist Organisation felt the deepest and keenest satisfaction at the Declaration of His Majesty's Government. He had the honour to make the following declaration to the Arabs: “Relations between Jews and Arabs had hitherto been scanty and spasmodic, largely owing to mutual ignorance and indifference. There were no relations whatever between the two nations as such, because the oppressive Power did not recognise either of them, and whenever points of connection began to develop they were destroyed by intrigue, to the detriment of both nationalities. We believe that the present hour of crisis and the opening of a large perspective for epoch-making developments offer a fruitful opportunity for a broad basis of permanent cordial relations between two peoples who are inspired by a common purpose. We mean a real *entente cordiale* between Jews, Arabs, and Armenians, such an *entente cordiale* having already been accepted in principle by leading representatives of these three nations. From such a beginning we

look forward with confidence to a future of intellectual, social, and economic co-operation; we are one with the Arabs and Armenians to-day in the determination to secure for each of us the free choice of our own destinies. We look with fraternal love at the creation of the Arab kingdom, re-establishing Semitic nationality in its glory and freedom, and our heartiest wishes go out to the noble, hardly-tried Armenian nationality for the realisation of their national hopes in their old Armenia. Our roots were united in the past, our destinies will be bound together in the future." That was their declaration to their future neighbours. (Cheers.)

CAPTAIN THE HON. W. ORMSBY GORE, M.P., said:

As a British subject who has no Jewish connections I stand here this afternoon the personal friend of the Zionist leaders, one who has seen their work during the past year, both here and in Egypt, and I wish to congratulate them upon their success and join with them in thanking the British Government on the occasion of what I regard as a real epoch-making advance in civilisation. It was, I think, just about a year ago that I first came into contact with the Zionist movement in its practical form, when I was brought into close official contact with the Palestine refugees in Egypt. And from meeting them I learned that the Jews were already, and have been during the past forty years, endeavouring to bring idealism into that stricken land. The more one saw of Turkish rule, more particularly the rule since the deposition of Caliph Abdul Hamid by the

Young Turks, the more one saw there was no hope for Zionism, for liberty, for fair dealing, even in such a matter as taxation, no hope for progressive agriculture, unless Palestine were delivered from the thralldom of alien rule. I am particularly glad that this Declaration has been made by the British Government at a moment when British arms are delivering that land, because it shows that Britain is not out for gain for herself, but is out in a greater spirit for the ideal of freedom, of self-development, and nationality.

The Jewish claim to Palestine is in my mind overwhelming, and, as a British Member of Parliament, I rejoice to see from the new number of the *Zionist Review* what an overwhelming mass of British representative opinion, as reflected in the House to which I belong, is in support of this movement. One other reason for which I support this movement: I support it as a member of the Church of England. Sir Mark Sykes has spoken as a Roman Catholic principally. I am a communicant of the Church of England, and in this return to Palestine to be the Jewish home I hold out the hand of friendship to the Zionists who seek to bring that into effect, and I feel that behind it there is the finger of Almighty God. Another thing I should like to say and that is that from the moment that I met the Zionist leaders, whether in Egypt or in this country—from the moment of my first introduction to them I felt that there was something so sincere, something so, I should call it, British—so striking—that at once my heart went out to them, and I say this, that you have as your leader in this country in Dr. Weizmann a personality

and a statesman who has shown those great qualities of patience, of skill, of determination, and of intellect which have endeared him to everyone who has come across him. I have done what little I can to help forward this movement whenever I have had the opportunity. In the future if you are looking out for friends you may count me as one of them. (Cheers.)

MR. JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD, who was received with great enthusiasm, said he stood there as the son of one who had spent his life in endeavouring to bring about what they were celebrating that day. Jewish deals up to that time had been met at the gate, but they could not get through. With one stroke of the pen the English Government had flung open those gates. Therefore in every Jewish heart gratitude was overflowing, and they must not forget that all their aims of the future had been strengthened by the country whose Government had framed the generous and just Declaration. (Cheers.)

DR. C. WEIZMANN, President of the English Zionist Federation, upon rising, received a great ovation. He referred to the many good and brilliant words which had been said about the Jews, and he hoped that the Jews of to-day and the Jews of to-morrow would rise to the occasion in the needed power and the dignity, and give their answer to the great resolution, not only in words, but in deeds. The present generation had upon its shoulders the greatest responsibility of the last 2000 years, and he prayed that they might be worthy of that responsibility.

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He then called upon the meeting to rise, and with hands uplifted to take the old historic oath—each man and woman of them—יְשָׁקִים אִם אֶשְׁכַּח תְּשַׁכַּח יְמִיני ("If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its power").

The meeting rose *en masse*, repeating the words of the psalm amid great enthusiasm, which culminated in the singing of "Hatikvah" and "God Save the King" by the Precentors' Association.

OVERFLOW MEETING

An overflow meeting, over which Mr. P. Horowitz presided, was held in the Kingsway Theatre, which was crowded in every part. Among those who addressed the audience were the Chief Rabbi, Lord Lamington, Mr. I. Zangwill, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Dr. Selig Brodetsky, Dr. D. Jochelman, and Mr. Israel Cohen.

A resolution in identical terms with that carried at the London Opera House was passed with much enthusiasm.

THE DEMONSTRATION IN MANCHESTER

A striking demonstration was held on Sunday, December 9, 1917, in the Manchester Hippodrome, which was crowded with an enthusiastic audience. Sir Stuart M. Samuel, Bart., President of the Jewish Board of Deputies, presided, supported by all the leading Jewish representatives of Manchester and

the neighbouring towns and by a large number of influential non-Jewish citizens, including the Lord Mayor of Manchester and the Mayor of Salford. The proceedings began with the reading by Mr. Leon, the honorary secretary, of letters from Lord Rothschild, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., the Chief Rabbi, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.

Mr. Henderson wrote:

By its Declaration in favour of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, the British Government has vindicated the democratic claim that this is a war of liberation in which oppressed nationalities will find deliverance. The British Labour movement has included among its war aims a demand that the Jews of all countries, great and small, shall enjoy the rare elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and travel, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation; and it has also declared its belief that it would be practicable by agreement among all the nations to set Palestine free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that the country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, where the Jewish people may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race and religion. To this policy the British Government and people are now solemnly pledged.

SIR STUART M. SAMUEL, in rising to speak, had an enthusiastic reception. Looking towards the Chanucah light just kindled, he said:

My Lord Mayor, this candle has been lighted in Jewish homes for the last 2000 years, and represents the undying flame of hope—the characteristic of the Jewish people in those long years when they never lost the hope that one day the Divine promise might be fulfilled before their eyes.

Continuing, Sir Stuart Samuel said that, with regard to the Declaration of the Government, he thought it was far easier to return Palestine to the Jews than for the Jews to return to Palestine. (Laughter.) Jews to be successful in Palestine must be united; not only in this country, but throughout the world should they present a united front, for united they were strong. He appealed to all to sink their own views for the common good. The welfare of their brother-Jews must be the idea that should permeate them all. Small ideas must vanish for the welfare of the whole. After centuries of waiting progress must be gradual; one could not gamble when the fate of a people was at stake. No large influx of population must go forth to Palestine till it was prepared to receive them. Jews must give the same religious freedom to others as they themselves expected. They should hold out a helping hand to other nations who had suffered; firstly, to the Armenians, and to a less extent the Arabs as fellow-partners in misfortune, and show them that Jews desired to live in peace and amity with them. Let

Jews always remember that it was due to the freedom enjoyed in this blessed country, England, that they could thus hold out the hope of brotherhood. Living in England, they could realise thoroughly the gift of freedom. To sympathise deeply, one must suffer deeply. The cities of Palestine would be as cities of refuge to the persecuted in God's own time and bring *שלום לישראל* (Loud applause.)

The LORD MAYOR OF MANCHESTER, who received an ovation, said he spoke for the majority, perhaps the whole of his fellow-citizens, when he wished them God-speed in their movement. He had many good friends among the Jews in Manchester, and looked upon them as a very valuable part of the city life. He had, as it were, a personal interest in the Zionist movement, as he had been in Palestine and was now represented there by a son who was in the British army. The world owed a great debt to the Jews, who had held up that great idea and been true to it through torment and torture, the idea of again acquiring the land of Palestine. He earnestly hoped that the idea would be realised, and it was best realised by winning this war—(cheers)—by destroying for ever German militarism and by crushing it with ferocity. When peace at length came then the vision of the prophet Isaiah would be realised. (Applause.)

SIR MARK SYKES said that since Mr. Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild testimony had come from millions of Jews all over the world that the mass of Jewry was profoundly moved. Although within the

two thousand years past Jewry had on occasion been moved in unison it had always before been on some matter of grief and never of joy. The war had been fruitful in negatives, but here was a great positive. For centuries there had been something amiss with civilisation. Every nation and every continent had had its Jewish problem, oppressive laws, Ghettos, Pales; here Jews were proscribed and evicted, there tolerated and assimilated, and between the two one did not know whether the first was not the better. The realisation of the Zionist ideal was the end of all that. Zionism would give the Jews of the world a higher position than they had ever held before. Although few might go to Palestine in proportion to those who remained without, the latter would not suffer. No British Jew would be less British because he could look at the cradle of his race with pride and at the religious centre of his faith with happiness and reverence. When the spiritual citizenship was clearly and nobly defined the civic citizenship would be higher than ever before.

But there were practical considerations. He regarded it as vital for the success of the Zionist plan that it should rest upon a Jewish, Armenian, and Arab *entente*. The Armenian was one of an oppressed people, and until he could live his life and realise his national aspirations the Jews could have no guarantee that the tyranny which fell upon him would not fall upon them. We had been told that the Turk had tolerated the Jew. It was because in Turkey the Jews had not been a political element, and had had no agrarian population. The day that Zionism was realised they were land-holders, and be-

came to the Turk the same as the Bulgar, the Serb, the Greek, the Armenian, the Arab. Until they had liberated the Armenians they could not be secure; they must have between themselves and their possible aggressor a stable, progressive Armenian state.

When he spoke of the Arabs he entered into no nice distinctions. He referred to those in Asia who were one in language and in blood. By environment they were called Syrians, Mesopotamians, Mosulis, Aleppines; by religion they were called Christians, Mussulmans, Druses, Mitawelis, Ansaries; in blood, there was on the male side a little infusion in Syria of the Crusader, and in Mesopotamia of Turanian and Iranian, but scientists would call these only traces. Eighty-five per cent. of the stock was Semitic. For 800 years the Arabs had been under Turkish dynasties. Their canals of Mesopotamia had been ruined, and when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape he cut them off from European commerce. They were bound, impoverished, divided by Turkish intrigue, and isolated by events. Were they dead? Never. "You know the Semite sleeps but never dies." (Loud cheers.) Wherever there were men of Arab stock, whether in Nigeria or Chicago, Java or Manchester, one would find progressive people who took interest in art, in literature, in philosophy, and had a high place in commerce. The Arabs of to-day had the same vitality and capacity as the Arabs who under the Ommayads carried civilisation from Damascus to Cordova in Spain, and from Basra to the wild steppes of Austral Asia; as the Ab-

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bassids who spread literature and art from Bagdad to the whole civilised world.

To-day the Arabs were pre-nationalist. They were one in blood and in tongue. There were seven or eight millions of them; they were prolific. There was a combination of man-power, virgin soil, petroleum, and brains. What was that going to produce in 1950? The inevitable result was that the seven or eight millions would turn to 20 millions; the Mesopotamian canal system would be reconstructed; Syria must become the granary of Europe; Bagdad, Damascus, and Aleppo would be each as big as Manchester; universities and a great Press must arise.

Arab civilisation was coming there; no Sultan or Kaiser could prevent it, and when it came no imperialists and financiers would be able to control it. It was the destiny of the Jews to be closely connected with the Arab revival, and co-operation and goodwill from the first were necessary, or ultimate disaster would overtake both Jew and Arab. Therefore he warned the Jews to look through Arab glasses. (Cries of "We will, we will!")

What did the Arab fear? He feared financial corporations, pivoted on Palestine, controlling Syria and Mesopotamia. He feared the soil of Palestine would be bought by companies, and that he would become a proletariat working on the soil for alien masters. He feared the Palestinian colonists might drop their colonies and drift into Syria and Mesopotamia as middlemen and crush him out of existence. It was essential that Zionists should realise and face these dangers. He dared say these things

because he believed in Zionism, and knew that it was idealistic and not a financial manœuvre. (Loud cheers.) The Arabs should understand that the Jews sought no land not willingly sold; that all land so purchased would only be developed through Jewish labour—(loud cheers); that the colonists would be *bona fide* colonists, and that the Jews were out to win Palestine, not by financial manœuvres, but by the sweat of their brow. (Prolonged cheering, many rising to their feet.) The co-operation of the two races offered such prospects to mankind; hostility would mean such an unthinkable tragedy that he felt it his duty to give the warning.

A second warning that he would offer was that Zionists should remember that Jerusalem was a triple shrine, sacred to Christian, Jew, and Moslem alike, because he as a Catholic had kissed the stone of the Holy Sepulchre and knew something of what the Moslem felt in regard to the Mosque of Omar and something of what the Jew felt when he laid his hand on the stones of the Wailing Place. Jerusalem throbbed with history; it was inflammable ground, and a careless word or gesture might set half a continent aflame. Jewish policy would not be realised by diplomacy, tact, delicacy, or the virtues of the drawing-room politician. Jerusalem called for more than that. It did not call for toleration, but for sympathy, understanding, compassion, sacrifice—"sympathy with the Moslem, to whom the Mosque of Omar is the most sacred spot on earth; understanding the Christian, who, like myself, feels that in helping Zionism he is doing something to make a great amend. Sacrifice all sense of triumph, of old

memories of ancient wrong. Approach it not in a spirit of toleration, but of brotherhood and affection."

He believed that, approached in the right spirit, Zionism would be the cause of a great reconciliation, not of fusion, but good fellowship between members of three faiths of common origin. Misused it would be the beginning of bitterer strife than ever the world had known. Timidity was the road to ruin; let them face facts boldly. In the realisation of their ideal he saw security for the world's peace. He saw them co-operating as the moral guarantors and protectors of small States, being perhaps the smallest and the greatest at the same time. He saw them healing the religious distractions which had severed the best from the best throughout the ages. In Jerusalem there would be a great vital heart, healing the scars of Europe and calling Asia once more back to life. (Prolonged cheers, the audience rising repeatedly.)

MR. JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD said the British Government, representing without any doubt the voice of an enlightened and large-hearted democracy, had ratified the Zionist scheme. What was wanted from the Jewish people was no longer schemes, but deeds, and he hoped that in the near future cohorts of modern Maccabees would be fighting their way through the hills of Judæa. (Cheers.) The Jewish claim was one for justice, and that also was the basis of the claims of the Arabs and Armenians, claims which Jews fully endorsed and were pledged to support. Britain stood as the foster-mother of the

new-born Jewish nation, and he looked forward to the day when that nation, steeled in adversity but proud in hope, had proved itself by dint of its work to be a real daughter.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN, who was received with cheers, said the Declaration was Restoration; it was, perhaps, the one thing which, say 500 years hence, would be singled out as the most historic act of this world-war; it seemed so transcendently important not only to Jews, but likewise to the world. Jews must not always be dreamers. They had already begun some pioneer work in Palestine, and in time would be proud of their colonists. On what they accomplished during the next twenty years depended the verdict of the world. He believed they would rise to the cause, their men and their women with their heart in the good work. (Loud cheers.)

DR. WEIZMANN, who was received with loud and long-sustained applause, said:

I desire to associate myself on behalf of the organisation which I have the honour to represent, the English Zionist Federation, with the sincere regard which is tendered by this great city to His Majesty's Government. As one who had the privilege of contributing somewhat to the negotiations with that Government I can realise the spirit in which this Declaration has been granted to us. The friendliness, the understanding of and sympathy with our cause as shown by the statesmen who rule the destinies of England, would, if it were known,

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be regarded as a source of the greatest comfort to Jews all over the world. Moreover, not only has the Government granted us this Declaration, but it means to put it into effect as soon as possible. I hope that when the military position will allow it, a Commission of Zionist Jews will go out to Palestine for two great purposes. The first and immediate purpose will be to grant relief and to heal the wounds which have been produced by the devastations of war. The distress in Palestine is great, and relief is needed immediately. We have done what we could do at present, but much more has to be done in the immediate future, and that will be one of the objects of the Commission.

The second and perhaps more difficult task will be to form plans and opinions for setting about the difficult task of colonising and rejuvenating the old country. In this mood of festivity in which you now are, I would also like to utter a word of warning. An ancient and experienced people will prove their wisdom by restraining themselves at the right time. Let us all remember that the building of Palestine is a slow, gradual and laborious process, which will tax heavily our resources and our patience. Catchwords such as "We must have a Jewish state at once," will do us a great deal of harm. We cannot have masses of immigrants streaming into Palestine before the country is ready to receive them. I am fearing such a contingency much more than any opposition which is at present shown to Zionism. We must never be afraid of our opponents. I am frightened sometimes by the zeal of some of our friends.

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Many a warning has been given to us to-night; these warnings were grave, wise, and important; they are the more significant as they come from the man who has been instrumental more than anybody else in bringing about the Government's Declaration. He has styled himself to-night the pilot, and indeed he was, is, and I hope will be still for a long time a great pilot to us. But may I be permitted to state that I was listening to some of these warnings with a certain sense of astonishment and humiliation, because it seemed to me that they were not altogether necessary, at least as far as Zionists are concerned. Why, it is the very essence of Zionism not to do those three things against which Sir Mark Sykes has warned us. Have not we Zionists, as members of a democratic movement, fought constantly against these so-called international Jewish financial speculators? This type of Jew has always been the implacable enemy of Zionism. From where has the opposition to Zionism been recruited? It has not come from the Ghettos where Jewish traditions are still alive. It has not come from those who are ready to go and settle on the land. The opposition to Zionism comes chiefly from the so-called cosmopolitan Jew for whose doings and dealings we decline with scorn all responsibility. I think there is no danger of them catching the first train for Jerusalem. (Laughter.)

It is a truism to Zionists that as long as the land is bought by Jews and not worked by Jews it is not Jewish land. (Applause.) The land becomes Jewish not through the act of buying it but through the act of holding and working it. Among the many

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colonies which we have in Palestine, there is one, perhaps the least imposing, perhaps the least conspicuous. The name of this colony is Chedera, but it is the most Jewish of all the colonies. And why? The answer to this question is written in the cemetery of Chedera, where generation after generation have laid down their lives because they preferred to work on the soil and be stricken with fever, rather than desert and leave the work to others. And this is why the colony has become the most Jewish of them all.

For the last ten years of our colonising activity there has been an increasing tendency to replace systematically and sometimes at considerable economic disadvantage Arab labour by Jewish labour, and I would ask the Arabs to remember if we do it, it is not because we are against the Arabs, but because we desire to heed the warning of which Sir Mark Sykes spoke to-night, and really make the country Jewish. We want the colonies to be Jewish and to be worked by Jews, and I beg of our friends the Arabs to understand that it is an elementary postulate for those who desire to build up a Jewish country that this should be done by Jewish labour and by Jewish intellect, and not only by Jewish finance. It may all be very hard work, but every process of construction is a difficult one.

Another warning has been given to us to-night—you Jews try and be united. Of course we understand the absolute necessity of unity, and for years we have been organising and consolidating Jewry, and I think we are able to point to notable achievements in that direction. It is difficult, nay impossi-

ble, for the Jewish people, dispersed as it is among all the peoples of the world, to show the same aspects of unity as a normal European nation does; but may I remind you all that very often Jews are reproached for being too united—the so-called Jewish solidarity has always been a beam in the eyes of our enemies.

We are further asked to understand and to respect others. Who could understand and respect others better than the Jews, who have suffered so much and so long from lack of being understood? Don't we try to understand constantly, and have we not suffered from the fact that we have been misunderstood? How has the world treated the Jews? It has been either philo-Semitic or anti-Semitic, both equally despicable. We don't desire to be particularly loved and patronised, and don't wish to be an object of hatred. We wish to be taken just as we are, with all our faults and all our qualities, just as we try to take others. Here we are, just Jews and nothing else, a nation among nations; take it or leave it. All these are the very essence of Jewish nationalism and Zionism, and if the improbable should happen that some of us should forget them for a moment, we shall be quickly enough reminded of them by our enemies.

We are living through a great event, an event which imposes on us a tremendous responsibility. Every act we shall be performing will be watched and scrutinised, and all our mistakes will be magnified and placed in the forefront. Therefore we must try to do our utmost to perform all our tasks perfectly. We must double and treble our energies.

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All that we have done hitherto is only the beginning: the difficulties are still in front of us. For that purpose we must unite and combine our forces and leave our opponents strictly alone. We are not anxious for their help and we are not frightened by their opposition. If the non-Zionists come to us they will always be welcome; if they stay away we shall not blame them—under one condition, that they do not interfere with us. (Applause.)

What we do we shall do on our responsibility, and I think we are grown up enough to take this responsibility on our shoulders. Non-Zionists or anti-Zionists must not be frightened that they may be blamed for our faults; we shall take the blame ourselves, but also the credit. For those who want to come to us we shall build a golden bridge, we shall meet them halfway, we shall ask them to co-operate on those practical problems on which we can co-operate without sacrificing the fundamental principles of the movement. When the day comes for the building and construction of Palestine to begin, one of our most important tasks will be to set our accounts right with our neighbours, the Arabs and the Armenians. We cannot live in harmony with them otherwise. That is the forceful logic of the events. There is enough air and land and water in Palestine for everybody to live on.

We all hope and believe that out of this welter of blood and destruction a better world will arise. If misunderstandings existed in the past between Arabs and Jews we have not created them; they have been created by those who were the masters of Palestine, by the deadening hand of the Turk, who can

only rule over his empire by playing off one part of the population against the other. All that, we hope, will disappear now. Is it not imperative, is it not logical, that we who have suffered so much from physical force should try and reconstitute in Palestine an age of justice and right for everybody? It is strange indeed to hear the fear expressed that the Jew in Palestine may become an aggressor, that the Jew who has been always the victim, the Jew who has always fought the battle of freedom for others, should suddenly become an aggressor because he touches Palestinian soil. Has the world forgotten that on this very Palestinian soil the Jewish genius gave birth to the social code which has become the foundation of modern civilisation? Peace will, we fervently believe, reign in Palestine, and the Word of God will come forth from Zion as of old. In a world without artificial frontiers and Krupp guns, with different nationalities living side by side peacefully, working and labouring for the new civilisation that will emerge out of this war, the Jew will take up again his rightful place.

The Palestine which we expect to build up is not going to be a mere copy of what exists already in the world—it is going to be better. It will not necessarily be a copy of Switzerland or Belgium—it is no use multiplying copies. It is going to be something which will spring out of the Jewish soil, out of the Jewish soul, out of the Jewish genius. We shall utilise the accumulated experience of thousands of years of suffering. That is the ideal we have before us, for which we live and labour, and this ideal excludes aggression, excludes animosity towards those with

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whom we are bound to work and live. (Prolonged cheers.)

MR. N. SOKOLOW said:

For us Zionists—for I have the honour to speak to you in the name of the Zionist Organisation—it has always been one of the most important points in our Zionist programme to get publicly recognised and full political security for what we are going to build up in Palestine, in order that we may build on sound foundations. It is true that we did not wait in a state of passivity; we started our work even before we had got these international securities. We worked to the utmost of our powers, and we succeeded in creating in Palestine a nucleus of modern agricultural colonisation, a work in which we were generously helped by that great man whose son was hailed by you with so much enthusiasm and gratitude. (Applause.) Still, the security was missing. Now we hope to receive the essential, the most essential part of political security and self-government under this Declaration, from the greatest Power of the world, which is to decide the fate of Palestine—the Power which has been for centuries the shield and the rock of freedom and justice, and the school for colonisation and for a true and just management of its colonies. In welcoming the Declaration we are loyal and faithful to our programme which we proclaimed more than twenty years ago at our first Conference in Basle. That principle of political security and self-government is essential for the success and realisation of our work in Pales-

tine, and therefore we Zionists are overcome with joy at this solemn hour, receiving a considerable part of what we claimed in the shape of the Declaration of His Majesty's Government. (Applause.)

But it is not only the Jewish people who remained faithful to its traditions in receiving this Declaration; Great Britain in giving it has also proved once more her good faith. This Declaration is a continuation, even more a crowning, of all that Britain has done for the Jews during generations until the present day. (Applause.) When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, and from Portugal in 1552, some of them came to Holland, and one of the Jewish Rabbis of Amsterdam came in 1655 to this country and stood before Cromwell. He presented Cromwell with the petition for the readmission of the Jews to this country, using mainly motives of a rather Zionist character. The readmission of the Jews to this country was the first great act of justice done by England to the Jews. It is rather historic that the Jewish people should now give an expression of their deep gratitude to this great nation of Britain. And I think, ladies and gentlemen, that the friendship of the Jewish people is worth having. (Applause.)

You have heard some references to the rejoicings that are now going on, but these are but a very small part of what is transpiring at the present moment throughout Jewry in all the countries of the world. It is a wave not only of enthusiasm, not only of gratitude, but of deep consciousness, because the Jewish people are conscious of their responsibility for the actions they are about to undertake, and in

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view of the new chapter which is opening in Jewish history, a chapter which has to be written by the Jews all over the world. Not only the Zionists among the Jews, but the whole Jewish people is penetrated with the deepest feeling of responsibility for what is about to happen. You will have realised already that the Jews in Russia are perhaps the most pronounced friends of England. Why are they the friends of England? Not only because England has granted so great a boon to the Jewish people, but because they know what the right of a nation means, and because they are aware of the high ideals for which England is fighting. They know that England is the main propulsive force of the world's destiny, and that the diffusion of her spirit is the most valuable promise of true peace. They know that there is no free people to-day that has not fed from Great Britain's experience and copied her institutions. England has been and still is more than any other nation attached to our Bible. Now, by this Declaration England has played a rôle that is truly biblical. (Applause.)

We appreciate deeply the important remarks offered by our distinguished friend Sir Mark Sykes on the subject of the relations between the Jews, the Arabs, and the Armenians. My reply to these remarks is: We are Zionists—not only Zionists for ourselves, but also for the Arabs and the Armenians as well. Zionism means faithfulness to one's own old country, to one's own old home. Zionism means consciousness of a nation. Can we Jews be ignorant of the fact that the Arab nation is a noble nation which has been persecuted? Is not the co-operation

between the Arabs and ourselves, the Jews, in the Middle Ages for civilisation and for true culture written in our hearts and deep-rooted in our conscience? Our membership of the Semitic race, our title to a place in the civilisation of the world and to influence the world and take our share in the development of civilisation, have always been emphasised. If racial kinship really counts, if great associations exist which must serve as a foundation for the future, these associations exist between us and the Arabs. I believe in the logic of these facts. In the principle of nationality lies the certainty of our justice. There lies also the certainty of our brotherhood with the Arabs and the Armenians. We look most hopefully to the happy days when these three nations will create—in fact they have already created in the consciousness of some of their leaders—an *entente cordiale* in the countries of the Near East which have been neglected for so long.

We are not going to take away anybody's property or to prejudice anybody's rights. We are going to find the land which is available and to settle down wherever there is room, and to live in the best relations with our neighbours—to live and to let the others live. Palestine is not yet a populated, civilised, prosperous country. We are going to make it so by investing our means, our energies, and our intelligence. I was glad to hear that some of your speakers had been to Palestine. They have seen how the country looks. You may have read in *The Times* that one of its correspondents described the hills of Judæa as roadless, barren hills. But they were not always roadless and barren. In old times these hills

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were covered with terraces. Now the Jews have again gone there and have rebuilt some of these terraces. If there is anything left of civilisation, of modern agriculture, and of industry in the country it is due to the efforts of that handful of Jewish settlers working under the most difficult conditions.

I would like to say also a few words on the religious question. I had the honour to speak on this question to some representatives of the Church of England and to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, the Pope. (Applause.) I made to them a statement, which I can repeat to you here. We Zionists hate the word toleration, and Sir Mark Sykes really struck the very point when he condemned the word. We don't like mere toleration by non-Jews, and we don't want them to be tolerated. We know that Palestine is full of sanctuaries and of holy places, holy to the Christian world, holy to Islam, holy to ourselves. Are we blind not to see that there are these places of worship and of veneration? Palestine is the very place where religious conflicts should disappear. There we should meet as brethren, and there we should learn to love each other, not merely to tolerate each other. (Applause.) I declared this to the representatives of the great Churches and I can repeat it here.

M. Sokolow concluded with some remarks in Hebrew.

The CHAIRMAN then put the following resolution, which was carried with acclamation:

"Resolved that this mass meeting, representing all sections of the Jewish community of Manchester, conveys to His Majesty's Government an expression of heart-felt gratitude for their Declaration in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

"It assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action in support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people has evoked among Jews the most profound sentiments of joy. This meeting further pledges its utmost endeavours to give its wholehearted support to the Zionist cause."

In addition to the Jewish demonstrations in London and Manchester, enthusiastic public meetings, at which similar resolutions were passed, were held in most of the Jewish communities in the United Kingdom.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN AMERICA

Thousands of New York Zionists packed the Carnegie Hall at a commemoration meeting. Thousands more crowded the streets around the building, unable to get in, until long after the beginning of the meeting. The United States, British, and Zionist flags, intertwined, were hung on the walls, and songs in Hebrew were interspersed between the speeches. The leaders of the Zionists in New York and the Old World dwelt on the significance of the British victory.

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Dr. Schmarya Levin, speaking in Yiddish, declared that Great Britain's promise was not an act of politics or diplomacy, but something far deeper—a stage in the development of history, which, in effect, added another chapter to the Bible—a modern chapter, by which Jews of to-day could link something of their own time to the story of the old Jewish kingdom. Dr. Levin spoke as the representative of the International Zionist Organisation. The Rev. Dr. O. A. Glazebrook, late United States Consul at Jerusalem, declared: It is the duty of every Jew who loves Palestine, who fosters the hope of the restoration of Israel, to use his influence, his material wealth, and his life to see that England and the Allies win this war. We have seen, Dr. Glazebrook continued, the vision of the restoration of the Jewish people, and we pray that this vision may not be spoiled by the war, but may be crowned by the war ending gloriously in a victory for the Entente Powers. If Palestine is to be restored to Israel, remember that Palestine and Syria must remain in the hands of the Allies, and our most important lesson just now, more important than the immediate working out of details of the Zionist state, is that you see and do your whole, complete duty in this war—by helping to secure success for Britain, France, Italy, and America.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the meeting, said that what Zionists were rejoicing over was only a scrap of paper, "but that scrap of paper is written in English, it is signed by the British Government, and therefore is sacred and inviolable."

An impressive mass meeting was held at Washington at which Christians and Jews united to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem by the British. Notable addresses were delivered by Dr. Harding, Bishop of Washington, Rabbi Abram Simon, and Dr. James Montgomery.

Rabbi Simon said: As one of the household of Israel I am glad to be with you and rejoice with you to-day. The better Christians you are the more I love you, as love was the spirit in which the British entered Jerusalem. Instead of wild hurrahs the British doffed their hats, led by the great General, who walked humbly on foot. How different from the way Germans enter any city! The Welshmen and Australians who led the line cut off no baby's hands, stabbed or ravaged no women, tore up no agricultural lands, left nothing to cause shame, but were willing to allow the sunlight of their great achievement to reflect its brilliancy in the exhibition of God's mercy.

DEMONSTRATION IN RUSSIA

The Zionists of Odessa, where more than half the population is Jewish, organised a great demonstration of all Jewish organisations, including Jewish political refugees from Rumania. For half a mile outside the Consulate the street was packed by a crowd of 150,000 people, and a procession two miles

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long marched past the Consulate playing British and Jewish National Anthems.

An address signed by the chief of the Zionist movement in Odessa was handed to the British Consul with the request that he would express to his King, Government, and nation the heartfelt thanks of all the Jews of Odessa. The appearance of the British Consul on the balcony was a signal for prolonged and repeated cheers for the British King, the British Government, and the British people. The Consul having thanked them in a short speech remained on the balcony for two hours while the procession continued to march past, repeating their National Anthems and making public and private expressions of their deep thanks and emotion on hearing England's message of goodwill. After leaving the British Consulate the procession proceeded to the American Consulate, where similar scenes occurred. On the following day a deputation of Rabbis representing fifty-eight Odessa synagogues, together with some Vitkop parishioners, handed the Consul an address in similar terms to the British people.

DEMONSTRATION IN EGYPT

A mass meeting, called under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation of Egypt and organised by the Zeiré Zion Society of

Alexandria, was attended by between 7000 and 8000 people. The Governor of Alexandria was present. Twenty different organisations and institutions were represented by delegates, and the Chief Rabbi of Alexandria, Professor Della Pergola, also attended.

Extraordinary enthusiasm permeated the atmosphere of the meeting. It was decided to send the following telegram:

“The Right Honourable Lloyd George, Prime Minister, Downing Street, London. Mass meeting of 8000 Jews held to-day in Alexandria manifested indescribable enthusiasm during reading Mr. Balfour’s Declaration, and expressed its deepest gratitude to His Majesty’s Government. Jack Mosseri, President, Zionist Organisation of Egypt.”



PRESS COMMENT

PRESS COMMENT

All Jewish newspapers in Allied and neutral countries, and, to a certain extent, even in the enemy countries, have welcomed in laudatory terms the British Government's Declaration. Even papers that were formerly opposed to the Zionist ideal have now assumed a friendly attitude in view of the inclusion of this ideal among England's war aims. The following is only a brief selection of Press opinions:

The Zionist Review (Special Supplement), December, 1917:

The Declaration is, first, a formal public recognition by Great Britain (and that is by the Allies) that Israel as a nation lives and persists. It is, second, a recognition that the problem of the Jewish nation and of Judaism can be solved only in and through a Jewish Palestine. It is, third, a pledge that the peace settlement must include such a solution by the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The whole Jewish cause, as the Jewish people have lived it through eighteen hundred years and as Zionists have expounded it, is thus embodied in the common law of humanity. From that, whatever were the outcome of the military struggle,

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nothing henceforth could eliminate it. All this we owe even now to Great Britain, and in a relatively few months we shall owe the full redemption of what is now pledged, the realisation in act of what is now written.

The Jewish Chronicle, November 19, 1917:

With one step the Jewish cause has made a great bound forward. The Declaration of his Majesty's Government as to the future of Palestine in relation to the Jewish people marks a new epoch for our race. For the British Government, in accord—it is without doubt to be assumed—with the rest of the Allies, has declared itself in favour of the setting up in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and has undertaken to use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object. Amidst all that is so dark and dismal and tragic throughout the world there has thus arisen for the Jews a great light. The Declaration of the Government, which concedes the Zionist position in principle, must have effects, far-reaching and vital, upon the future of Jews and Judaism.

The Jewish Express:

It is a colossal event in Judaism, a new epoch in the history of the Jewish people. For the nearest parallel we have to go back twenty-five centuries when Cyrus, the King of Persia, issued a proclamation that Jews might return to Judæa to re-establish their national home. . . . Whatever the outcome.

the fact itself—that the greatest Power in the world has recognised the claim of the Jewish people for its old homeland—marks a red-letter day in Jewish history. It is a wonderful phenomenon for anyone possessing an historic sense. . . . But the event provokes more than wonder; it will fill every truly Jewish heart with delight, for it opens a new horizon for the future. . . . The day when the Declaration was signed on behalf of the Government will be remembered by all Jews at all time with gratitude and respect to the great Power that had the sense of justice to support the just claim of a long-wronged people. Mingled with the breathless wonderment is the feeling of inexpressible gratitude.

The Jewish Times:

A thrill of joy will undoubtedly run through the heart of national Jewry on reading the great news. It will be a source of inspiration for every truly Jewish soul. . . . The Declaration may rightly be regarded as a beginning of the end of the Jewish *Goluth*, the beginning of the solution of the Jewish national problem, the beginning of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. . . . Never in history was such an assurance given to the Jewish people.

The American Jewish Chronicle, New York:

It is the first time in nearly two thousand years of our Diaspora that a Great Power has publicly recognised the Jewish nationality and its right to a homeland. . . . It is by no means pure accident that

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two mighty Anglo-Saxon nations and Governments, Great Britain and the United States of America, should be the first among the Great Powers to recognise the right of the Jews to a national homeland of their own, and thus publicly to recognise the nationality of the Jews. If the ancient Jewish mind, as it expressed itself in the Bible, ever influenced a great race and helped to shape its destinies and policies, it was the Anglo-Saxon race. For the past 400 years the greatest production of Jewish genius, the Bible, has been a powerful factor in the life of the Anglo-Saxon race, and as soon as the Anglo-Saxons freed themselves from mediævalism they began to treat the Jews living among them with consideration and fairness, even before they were officially emancipated.

The Jewish Advocate, Boston:

Whether one looks at this wonderful event from a religious or from any other point of view, the fact remains the same. The dream of ages, cherished in the hearts of millions of people, has come true. . . . Now all Jews are Zionists.

Hatoren (Hebrew), New York:

We have long waited for such a Declaration, and we were certain that it must come. . . . And yet when it did come, and we read it and re-read it, we felt that Divine afflatus of the soul, and a spirit of national rejuvenation has filled us to the brim.

The Wahrheit, New York:

Every Zionist victory makes clear to the world that only those are entitled to speak in the name of the Jewish people who proclaim our nationality.

The Victims' Return

By NOËLLE ROGER



THE VICTIMS' RETURN

BY NOËLLE ROGER

WITH AN HISTORICAL NOTE BY
EUGÈNE PITTARD

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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TO THOSE WHO GUIDED, HELPED, AND SUPPORTED THIS
SCHEME FOR REPATRIATING INTERNED AND
EVACUATED CIVILIANS;

TO THOSE WHO SHOWED THEM DEVOTION AND LOVE;
TO THAT ANONYMOUS HOST WHICH CAME TO WELCOME
THEM, MINGLED ITS TEARS WITH THOSE OF THE
VICTIMS, AND SO GAVE THEM
THE GREATEST OF ALL CONSOLATIONS IN THEIR HOURS
OF SADNESS;

I Dedicate this Book.

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THE VICTIMS' RETURN

THE PROCESSION OF VICTIMS AT SCHAFFHAUSEN

THE months October, 1914, to February, 1915, will be remembered in the annals of Schaffhausen—a small, smiling town on the banks of the river which seemed to turn its thoughts and sympathy to Germany. A trustful little town, which had a rude awakening from its dreams and illusions. When, day after day, night after night, it watched the procession of interned and evacuated French folk, it suddenly came into terrible contact with the horror of this war.

At first these people were interned civilians—families caught unawares in Germany by the declaration of war and taken off into concentration camps. There were tourists among them, pilgrims from Alsace-Lorraine, and young people completing their education or spending their holidays in University towns beyond the Rhine. Soon these were followed by inhabitants of the invaded districts of France, who had been im-

prisoned in Germany and were now being repatriated—old folk, women, children, invalids, helpless people. (Men between sixteen and sixty years of age were detained “back there.”) An exodus, this, of a whole population, shaken and flung together by the chances of disaster; a rabble of unfortunates of widely different stations, torn from their homes—often without being able to take a thing with them, and possessing only the poor clothing they wore. There were mayors, municipal councillors, priests—seized as hostages—families which had lost half their members; children without parents; dazed old men; poor grannies who had never been outside their village; middle-class folk and workpeople; pedlars and peasants; wives of superior officers; magistrates, and doctors; Sisters of Mercy and prostitutes; poor-law children, half-witted creatures; paralytics carried on stretchers; civilians who had been wounded. . . .

Amid this extraordinary disorder one saw crowds of human beings moving like sheep, going they knew not whither, swept along together by a storm of unprecedented violence which, day after day, flung up fresh waves of misery, all the same, but all different—poor, ill-starred, stunned, docile creatures who bowed to their destiny without comprehension or protest.

Schaffhausen witnessed their passing.

M. Henri Moser, a Federal Commissioner, together with M. Spahn, organized a reception committee, though he had but a small amount of public money at command—expenses have been heavy in Switzerland since war broke out. As he felt in honour bound to give the public an unforgettable object-lesson, as it were, he allowed all comers access to the station platforms. When the train of refugees arrived, closed and sinister, and when the doors at last were opened and slowly disgorged this crowd of wan-cheeked, crushed unfortunates—the good people of Schaffhausen were horror-struck, believing that they saw the chill spectre of all the tragedies whereof these travellers brought with them the terrible remembrance.

Then occurred a spontaneous, irresistible movement. Clothes and food flowed in: the very poorest brought their offerings. Workmen, townspeople, peasants—all took part. M. Moser wished them to enjoy the pleasure of making their offerings in person. Gifts were not registered: givers refused to tell their names. School-children clubbed their lunches and distributed them. The least wealthy villages in the canton joined in the common good work. Their inhabitants, one after another, brought clothes, sacks of potatoes, fruit. From all the surrounding country carts arrived laden with provisions; col-

lections were made in town-halls and churches; shopkeepers closed their shops of an afternoon to be able to help receive the refugees. From the young girl who in the street took off her furs and threw them round the shoulders of a refugee—saying to M. Moser, “I give them because of all things I love them the best: I got them at Christmas”—to the most destitute of the working folk, all took a share in this united effort of a populace striving to bring consolation and comfort to others.

Ever since that time Schaffhausen has been doubly dear to us.

MM. Moser and Spahn had formed a committee of a hundred and thirty-nine members, and begged them above all things to be gentle and kind; as he knew well that the most important thing was not the distribution of gifts, but tenderness and moral consolation. He was anxious to make our guests feel restored to family life.

The convoy arrived between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. When the transference of the baggage into the Swiss train had been completed, the refugees were divided into several sections and handed over to members of the committee, who took them away to be fed. Graciously were they led through the streets. Young Schaffhausen took charge of the children

and lent an arm to the old folk, while the rest of the populace formed an escort. The travellers gazed round them at the paved roads, so clean and quiet; at the large-roofed houses; at the seemingly, well-cared-for appearance of our little town, with its look of smiling good-humour, and kept saying—their own village in their thoughts—“How quiet it is here!”

As they passed, shop doors flew open. Good folk offered them some dainty, shook them by the hand. Women stood tiptoe on their doorsteps. Handkerchiefs were waved. No! they were not strange streets, these streets which the exiles now saw for the first time. It seemed to them that they were returning to a place they loved in days gone by, where folks whom they knew welcomed them with open arms. People who for weeks and months had encountered the hostility of men and things seemed now to awake from a long nightmare, and at a bound to escape the misfortune in which they had been engulfed.

Each of the conductresses halted her squad before the inn allotted to it—one of those inns which still, in accordance with old custom, have a sign swinging over the door, which preserve a touch of domesticity, a dignified air, a flavour of affable hospitality.

They went inside. In the great bright hall, with its shining wainscoting, specklessly clean, a

table had been laid. All the guests were found places, served with coffee, gently encouraged to eat; and many were so moved by this first meal offered them in kindness that they could not restrain their tears. Young girls vied in rendering small necessary services, such as writing letters, sending telegrams, giving information. M. Moser had insisted that, above all things, the refugees should feel themselves at liberty. So, after the meal, they were taken into the prettiest old streets of the city. At every step came fresh tokens of this unobtrusive sympathy, conveyed by a gesture, a word, a stealthy gift.

If the weather were fine, they went to the falls of the Rhine. The travellers gazed at the lovely scenery in silence. They returned by train; and some of them, leaning on the doors, turned their eyes back, still gazing. They will carry away with them this precious view of Schaffhausen; they will store up this cheering recollection with those of their tragedy.

"This journey," wrote a girl on returning to Paris, "will remain stamped on my memory all my life, for it gave me the chance of seeing things which were unknown to me. I had heard people talk often enough of lovely Switzerland, but my imagination could not picture what my eyes have now actually admired. I am quite pleased to go

back to school to begin work again, and tell my mistress and schoolfellows of all the interesting things I have seen in Switzerland. I can still see Mont Blanc, and the falls of the Rhine, and all the Swiss Mountains." She signed herself "Your little repatriated friend, Madeleine."

One refugee woman wrote from Annemasse: "This journey will never be effaced from my thoughts." Another: "Nowhere in the world have I met people so lovable as those in Switzerland."

Ah! all those letters that have reached us! Elegant screeds; well-phrased notes; faultless formulæ expressing sincere feeling; poor, badly spelt, touching missives in which clumsy fingers have forced themselves to convey strong emotion. We cannot quote them here; but they show once again how right M. Moser was in making our people his chief helper, and giving them full scope for carrying out the humble, unsung, sweet work of help and consolation.

One after another the squads passed into the splendidly organized clothing depot. The refugees were made to pass in file before long tables laden with things all ticketed and sorted. Each woman could mention and select the things she needed most. There were outfits for children and layettes: linen, too, and clothes for the men.

The latter in many cases were very modest. "You mustn't give me so many things," said an old countryman who had lost his all, "or there won't be enough left for the others."

The pleasantest time in the day was the evening meal. Each detachment returned to its appointed inn, and repaired to the dining-hall with its now familiar table. The poor victims of misfortune were growing accustomed to this new atmosphere; to faces which had so quickly become dear to them. They felt at their ease, among friends, and many of them began to smile again. M. Moser spoke a few words of kindly welcome, telling them how delighted the people of Schaffhausen were to receive them. An old Frenchman rose to reply. Sometimes he was an old peasant, unready of speech, but who nevertheless was determined to express his thanks.

A choral society or some orchestra or other would drop in at the end of the meal to play Swiss airs and sing the "Marseillaise." This brought smiles to the refugees' faces, and often made them turn their heads away and cry.

When, at ten o'clock, they were put in the train for Geneva, they took away with them the impression of having been at a family gathering, a family subdued and serious, saddened by mourning, but recovering, by the love that its members

showed, courage to live. Leaning out of the carriage-doors, they tried to get a last glimpse of the town through the darkness. And they saw, crowded together on the iron bridge, groups of Schaffhausen folk who had come to bid them good-bye.

* * * * *

In the station itself a hospital had been arranged. A single convoy included fifty-six consumptives. The long procession of stretchers was a sad sight.

It was towards the end of October, 1914. The rain had just come in, and several stretchers were already *en route* for the infirmary. From a carriage there emerged a poor fellow, terribly thin and wan, with sweat trickling in large drops down his face. He seemed to be dying. They took him away and laid him on one of the beds. A little later a nurse was greatly surprised to find the "dying" man busily engaged in bolting everything that was offered him. He had recovered from his exhaustion. He pointed to his cap, on which the notice "deaf-mute" was displayed, and expressed his thanks by signs. He had but one arm, and that was tuberculous. On the bed next to him they had laid an old consumptive, whom a nurse was persuading to drink a cup of cocoa. When this refreshment enabled him to speak, he said that, but for the

help given him, he would never have reached the end of his journey alive.

He came from Soissons, and asked news of his town. "Yonder they were told that Paris had fallen and that France was beaten. But nobody was going to believe *that*."

The nurse, fearing he would tire himself, advised him to sleep until the time came to leave. The old man replied:

"Who wants to sleep in such pleasant company?" The poor old fellow, doomed though he was, and handed about like a pitiful item of baggage, yet managed to find something agreeable to say!

Ah! the old folk whom this Schaffhausen infirmary has seen pass through it! Shrivelled countrywomen, who had managed to reserve their bonnets, a black kerchief crossed on their breasts, dragging their clogs painfully along the ground, and carrying most carefully in the hand some nondescript object saved in the general scramble and guarded all the journey through. One had her warming-pan; another a pipkin full of melted butter. Some were still lively and talkative—they could not read; they had never been outside their villages; they never would have believed that the world contained so much room. They talked about all kinds of old-fashioned customs, referred to the leech or the bonesetter,

named the doctor "the veterinary" or even "the priest," and described marvellous remedies in which they placed implicit confidence. They had a word to say, too, about the happenings which had upset the tenor of their lives—quite unexpected opinions. "War! . . . Who could have believed it to be so awful?"—"Anyway, last time the Prussians did us no harm."—"Last time can't be compared with this"—and so on.

Some had a distracted look: the catastrophe had unhinged their minds, plunging them into a childishness from which they will never emerge.

One bent, broken-down peasant had brought away nothing but the key of his ruined house—a massive and many-warded key, now his sole possession. He kept it in his hand, and, when he ate, laid it down beside him. This absolutely useless key was the one thing that still had any value for this tragical old fellow, whose eyes seemed ever to see his misfortune there before him.

Most of the refugees were silent, wrapped in the sadness of resignation. They no longer knew where they were. For goodness knows how long they had been moved hither and thither, penned like cattle! They had but a confused recollection of an unaccountable disaster which had burst over them, tearing them adrift from everything they had loved for three-quarters of a century or more—tearing them away from the

countless little things that made up their lives and kept them on their feet, alive and active. Now—they are but wrecks: they will never be their old selves again; nothing can make good the damage done them; they will never take root again.

They are led away, they are led back, docile as tiny children. They thank one politely. They seem lost in dreams, and have no clear notion of where reality begins. Once, hostile faces hemmed them in; now, by a righteous turn of the wheel of fortune, they find friendly faces smiling at them. If they can still manage to walk, one gives them an arm along the street. They see the weakest of their number carried by on stretchers. On they go, subdued, bent. Said one of them, turning towards me his shrivelled face, the flesh of which seemed dead already: "My wife remained at home. Do you think I shall find her again? One should never have left. . . ."

They had looked on at the pillaging and burning of their farm. They had seen their cattle, tended with so much care, gallop off—or perhaps they saw their cows and bullocks led away by the Germans. One of them, a horse-breeder, whose mares and foals had all been taken, had become crazy. Another, while in the train that was carrying him to Germany, kept saying at every

station: "I want to get out! It's time for me to go and feed my beasts."

Oh! these poor old peasants from the Ardennes, the Meuse and Lorraine, whose doings, repeated day after day so many, many times, become as it were a ritual. They sowed their wheat and tended their cattle. Slowly, slowly came prosperity: Grandchildren grew up around them. It was a modest form of human happiness, yet it sufficed. And in a few days all was scattered to the winds—wrecked. Then they understood things no longer.

In a village near Saint-Mihiel a grandmother was dandling a three-year-old granddaughter on her knees when a shell exploded, disembowelling the child and wounding the old woman in the hands. Aghast, she stared at the corpse, which she still clung to, while all its blood mingled with her own. On the morrow she had to start for Germany. They put her in the train with her daughter—the mother of the dead child—a poor thing who wept incessantly, and who, unaided, had tended the wounded hands, bandaging them as best she could. The grandmother was frozen stiff with horror, ever seeing the little bleeding body on her knees, but she shed not a tear.

At Metz the Germans made her leave the train, while her daughter was compelled to go on to Rastadt. There, at Rastadt, as a result of

many inquiries made by a German officer with some humanity in him, this poor woman heard of the death of her mother a few days later.

Of all these sufferings, obscure and heart-rending, no one will know. Surely we cannot be too pitiful! A repatriated woman told me: "I had with me my boy of eight. He died down there. I am returning all alone."

An old woman said: "I know well enough that we ought not to have stayed so close to the frontier. But what can you expect—we were born there?"

Facts became confused in their memories. The endless journey of to-day has already blended itself with the awful journey made through Germany when they were torn from their homes. The very names of countries have got jumbled up. Are they in Germany? or in Switzerland? or in France? They can't say. They only know that their "place"—their farm, the village steeple—exists no longer, and that they will not behold those well-known scenes again.

A deaf old woman, seeing people smiling and offering her their hands, shouted at the top of her voice—unaware that she was in Switzerland—"Long live Germany!" And for a long time all attempts to make her stop were useless.

Another said: "In this town 'Entrance' [Eingang] people have been very good to us."

All these old men and women whom we saw file past at Schaffhausen, Zurich, and Geneva—dragging themselves along leaning on the arm of our police, carried in motor-cars, borne on stretchers, helpless, with their legs hanging down, their staring faces—piteous lumps of humanity, from whom at times a cry was wrung by suffering, paralyzed old women, crippled old men, consumptives, asthmatics, some half blind, others deaf, others distraught, all alike and yet all different—a sorrowful stream which never ceases to flow! Ah! who could describe a wretchedness such as never was seen before?

We came across them again at Annemasse, huddled together in a corner of the waiting-room. “Where are you off to?”

“I don’t know.” Or perhaps they made no reply, merely shaking their heads sadly.

“But are you not going by this train?”

A shake of the head—“I don’t know.”

It is the indifference of despair. Fate casts them hither, throws them back thither. Poor old folk whom one takes by the arm, and hoists into the carriages—one kindly person pushing behind while another pulls in front—who sink exhausted on to a seat, whose dull silence seems to say: “How long are we to go on like this? How long?”

Ah! all these old people whom we have seen

go by ! Their tears are slow to come ; their silence is appalling. Had they complained, one could at least have tried to give them a little hope. But they never complained. Some uttered a few childish words, simple words of thanks, as if they could not accustom themselves to finding a little fleeting sweetness amid this never-ending catastrophe.

When we look at them stretched on the infirmary mattresses, or seated in a corner, with heads bowed down, shoulders bent, their grey locks in disorder, their limbs numbed, their knotted hands now quite soft, we cannot picture that once, some months ago, they were alert, active old women, fine, strong old fellows who guided the plough, and at the end of the field drew themselves up and smiled back at the newly turned furrow ; and of an evening smoked their pipes before the farm door ; and on Sunday walked in groups discussing village matters, while following with their eyes the lads who were beginning to take their places.

Villages of France with tuneful names, the mere sound of which conjures up severe old houses, old-time farms, steeples with pure lines, fields all around climbing the hills, a limited horizon all sweetness and grandeur, lines of trees which run along quiet streams wherein stooping women wash their linen, singing the while ! Unknown villages

whose names leaped into fame or tragedy, when your churches rang the tocsin and answered one another across the fields ! What one among you had forebodings of approaching fate ? What are you to-day ? Gutted houses, wrecked farms, calcined rubbish, shattered towers. Like your old, ruined peasants, you are given up to silence and despair. Oh ! these bodies, half destroyed : bodies from which the over-tortured soul has fled ! Their families are scattered ; their children lost.

The villages—no doubt they will be rebuilt. In new bell-towers the bells will ring again. Young trees will shoot up beside the shattered trunks ; beside old, unforgettable suffering happiness will come to life again, patiently, slowly.

But these old hearts—how many of them will remain unconsolated ! How many of them will go down to the grave, how many will reach the journey's end, still mute and broken !

The infirmary at Schaffhausen has seen indescribable misery pass through it. Many of the children were ill with coughs and fever ; others were worn out. It was piteous to see these poor creatures whom their mothers had not been able to tend in their flight. Many of the repatriated when they arrived were suffering from quinsy, a disease which was especially virulent in the Rastadt cells, and the nurses at Schaffhausen

caught it from their charges more or less seriously. Several of them were laid up with it for weeks; one young woman did not recover for eight months; and a girl, Marguerite Biedermann, died from it.

When I watch a group of girls helping the refugees to carry their baggage along the station platform, or leading the slow procession through the streets, I always see among them the shade of Marguerite Biedermann.

She was twenty-four years old. Young, enthusiastic, and modest, she was beginning to find life a little too easy for her, and dreamed of becoming an artist. She gave up painting for nursing; and, while her father made himself responsible for the heavy task of entertaining the refugees, and her mother busied herself with the clothing department, she devoted her energies to the sick who came in. Every day for four months she was at her post. Furthermore, she often accompanied convoys to Geneva, working all the night through and never ceasing to help and comfort the wretched, broken-hearted travelers. When she was stricken with the disease, the symptoms of which all who tended the refugees knew only too well, she kept on with her work regardless of her health, and struggled on to the end. At last she had to give in, and died after several weeks of suffering.

She died on the battlefield in the fulfilment of her duty, as surely as many a young unknown hero who dies in the defence of his country.

I cannot record here all the tragedies witnessed in this station infirmary, but I will recall just one.

One evening the Federal Commissioner at Schaffhausen was informed that there was in the infirmary a woman whom it was dangerous to allow to leave, since she was threatening to commit suicide. He went to see her at once, and found quite a young girl lying on one of the beds, shaken from head to foot by paroxysms of weeping—a poor distraught creature who had completely lost her self-control. She came from Alsace and could not speak French. He managed to calm her a little and to get from her some disjointed words which enabled him to piece her story together.

When but seventeen she had married the French accountant of a large industrial concern in Alsace. When the war broke out her husband, along with all the Frenchmen in the town, was summoned to the town-hall. Next day they left for Rastadt. All their wives and children watched them leave. There were heartrending partings. The men had to get into the train. The young accountant, distracted by this terrible scene—his wife had had to be torn from his arms—already showed signs of an over-excitement which his companions vainly tried to calm.

At a station in Germany where they were made to alight—though nobody knows exactly what happened—the man was seen struggling frantically with some German non-commissioned officers. A scuffle followed, and the prisoner got a thrust from a bayonet. They led him off, and next day his companions heard that he had been shot. His clothes, riddled by bullets, were sent back to his family !

Meanwhile the little widow, unaware of her misfortune, was sent to Germany and interned there. In the train which was bringing her back to her native land she had just learned the truth from one of her husband's companions. She knew nobody in France; yonder there was only her stepmother, who had opposed her marriage. She could see but one thing to look forward to—death.

All this the Commissioner gathered. He realized that the girl could be saved in one way only. He took her with him to his wife. The little widow became the pet of the house, and learned again how to smile.

At 10 p.m. everyone has been found a place in the carriages. The children are made to lie down, and we try to cheer up the old folk. Just before eleven the train pulls out amid cries of "Vive la France !" from Schaffhausen people leaning over

the bridge. Handkerchiefs are waved. Good-byes are exchanged by strangers who are strangers no longer; affectionate signals are waved through the shadows and received by the travellers.

The train rolls along through fields, now quite shrouded in darkness. As one passes through the carriages one stops and feels tears rise to the eyes at the sight of all these little sleeping tots. These north-country families are large—five, six, seven, ten children. They have arranged themselves as best they could. Little brothers and sisters are lying two-and-two on the seats, with hair intermingled. In some cases mothers have close together on their knees two fair heads, two round faces almost exactly alike, their quiet breath uniting in one. They nod at us, or smile as we pass: "Yes, they are sleeping nicely. I am all right, thank you!"

Then they resume their drowsy reveries, head leaning back against the wall, eyes shut, amid the little motionless bodies. Shadows make their faces look hollow, bring into relief the marks of sorrow and suffering. They are thinking of the father at the war, of whom they will at last get news. Ah! what news? They are thinking of the old folk who stayed behind in the invaded village—of the eldest son whom the Germans seized.

We go from one carriage to another, and every-

where we see the same picture—mothers thinking, old men sleeping, broods of tiny children whose happy expressions are, as it were, a smile amid all the distress around them.

Sometimes a lonely woman who cannot sleep feels encouraged by the silence in the carriage and begins suddenly to talk in a low voice. She tells us her story—a confused and tragic story, and always the same, yet always fresh, with its unexpected details and words which make you shudder. You hear of sufferings of which the world knows nothing, of living tragedies, tales of captivity or death, days of terror, visions of massacre. Human life was no longer taken account of—her neighbour lay in the street riddled by bullets—good peaceful folk, known to one all one's life, were put against a wall and shot. . . .

“The sky was heavy with smoke, black and red in places. . . .

“At three o'clock in the morning all the inhabitants were afoot, looking to their beasts, with all speed, to make a start. . . .

“We had stopped on a little mountain near a Red Cross station. The soldiers pointed out to us the French army approaching; we could see the cavalry disappearing over the horizon, spread out in a most marvellous way. But about eleven o'clock we saw the cavalry reappear; reinforce-

ments were coming up; we did not know what that meant. The Red Cross soldiers said nothing more. . . .”

A peasant tells us this story in a droning voice. She still has a look of terror on her rigid face.

“ At half-past eleven a farmer came up to us, hat in hand. We thought he was mad. He told us that the Germans had driven him out of his house and were quite close. We could actually see them firing from the windows. We were greatly put about when we noticed a farm quite close to our house burst into flames. It was like a thunder-clap. Bullets passed over us, whistling overhead; one could see only red specks. It was a mad journey. All our eyes were wide open with terror.”

But the village to which they fled was invaded almost immediately afterwards.

Another saw a woman delivered of a dead child in a wood, with the other children close round her.

“ It was six in the evening. . An officer came up and told us to be off. As for the poor woman, I don't know what became of her. There were a thousand of us in flight. . . .”

Another said: “ My neighbour gave birth to a child in a field between the two armies.”

“ I saw my husband killed at a garden gate,” said a young woman from Lorraine in a wretched mourning dress. “ I escaped into a cellar with

my little wounded daughter. I had lost sight of my two little boys. Then, when day broke, I went to look for them: they had lain all night on their father's body."

These awful things are related as the most natural of occurrences, in a matter-of-fact manner that makes one shudder. I notice a still young woman sitting beside her eighteen-year-old daughter, not saying a word, her eyes wide open. Her face is thin, and hard with the fixed look that we know so well—the look by which, in the Savoy villages where they are quartered, we can tell at a glance which refugees have actually *seen* the war.

She, too, begins to talk monotonously and quickly, as if she were afraid of not having time to finish. In an endless stream fresh scenes recur to her mind and pour from her lips. Then she stops, and her daughter takes up the tale. The mother breaks in now and then to recall some overlooked detail. It is a weird and terrible duologue. Sometimes they smile. They suppress their voices so as not to wake the sleepers in the carriage, but, in spite of their smiles and calm tones, how one feels the horror that lives in them, and will never leave them!

They came from Combres, a Meuse village, not far from Saint-Mihiel. On September 7 it was invaded for the first time by Germans, who stayed

there six days and then had to withdraw. On the 27th the bombardment began. The inhabitants took refuge in their cellars. Presently they heard all the doors being struck violently by butt-ends of rifles. The Germans had come! The terror-stricken people had to look on while their houses were pillaged.

"At our house they found a bag full of cartridges which a French soldier had left there. That put them into a rage. A German threw the bag down and pounded it with his butt. A cartridge exploded, and the ball went through the ceiling. I had hidden myself with my son in a room right up in the roof; and when I heard the explosion I thought that they had shot my husband and daughter. The boy was taken ill; we did not dare open the door, fearing we should see. . . . At last my boy went out on to the stairs and cried: "Mamma! our Madeleine is there, and papa too; they are alive!"

A pause of some minutes, then:

"Next day all the inhabitants had to leave their houses, and were collected in the street. Machine-gun bullets whistled overhead. On this occasion the village was being bombarded by the French. We durst not speak, as the sentries had been ordered to make us keep silent.

"After an hour's waiting an officer came up to the crowd. Can't you imagine the silent dis-

may of all these women and children, their anxious looks?

"The officer pointed to the high ground where the German batteries were and said: "Follow me!" The young girl is now telling the story, and her voice shakes a little. "There could be no doubt about it; we were off to the battle. Everybody began to groan with dismay; and then a shell burst and wounded a woman and a young man. We all took to our heels to shelter ourselves near the houses. But the officer angrily repeated the order to march. We embraced one another, wept, and resigned ourselves to die, as die we must. Some sentries followed behind; we marched in ranks, and arrived at the top of the Hauts de Meuse hill, where we had to sit in the blazing sun. The firing stopped for a moment, but soon began again harder than ever. The German guns replied. We were so near them that they seemed to be right among us. We huddled ourselves together . . ."

"Yes!" broke in the mother. "But *I* did not want our four heads to be touching, so that we should be killed all together. The children said to me: 'If you die, we want to die with you.'"

She pauses to hunt up a detail.

"When we reached the foot of the hill I saw, just behind us, the curé surrounded by three sentries. Shells were falling. I turned my head

slowly and saw the curé quickly make the sign of the cross as a shell passed. He was giving all his parishioners absolution."

Just imagine these defenceless peasants, these women and their little ones, exposed to such torture; these families lying flat on the ground; the children shrieking as they clung to their mother; fathers taking a part in *that*. . . . Some distance away German soldiers were digging holes—to shelter in, no doubt. But all kinds of imaginings filled those terrified minds. "They are digging our graves. They are going to shoot us. . . ."

The young girl goes on.

"At six o'clock in the evening we were told to get up, fall in, and follow the sentries again. We came to the church. The women were sent back to the houses to fetch food for the men, who had to stay inside the church. My mother and I first went into the kitchen, where everything had been turned upside down. We trod on a litter of all kinds of things—papers, utensils. Everything had been pillaged. We found two pots of jam hidden in the chimney.

"Inside the church things were arranged in complete silence. Talking was forbidden: the bread was distributed. We arranged ourselves on some benches with such blankets as the women had been able to find. Now and then an officer

and some soldiers went the rounds. Nobody dared close an eye.

"At 4 a.m. we had to go out, and returned to the battle, to the same place." (The woman said this as if it had been, "We went back to the market.")

"The day passed very slowly. It became hot. Two civilians were detailed to fetch water, escorted by sentries. And all the time shells kept flying overhead in both directions. At five in the evening an officer told us, 'You are going to be shot (*fusillés*)!' " "He pronounced it '*fusilés*,'" said the French girl, who even at so tragic a moment retained her quickness of observation.

While the frightened flock were giving way to lamentations, a young girl of twenty-four, Jeanne Beyer by name, got up. Going straight up to the officer without any sign of fear, she said to him courteously and clearly: "Why do you want to shoot us? Haven't we always done what you told us to do? Have *you* no parents and brothers and sisters and wives, that you would make us suffer like this?" After that he quieted down, and a moment later drew back.

These few words conjure up the whole scene: the nonplussed officer, staring at the village girl who stood there in front of him and dared to ask him questions; around her the mob of silent peasants, spellbound by her daring, regaining hope

as they listened to this brave young voice raised in their defence; the officer turning away, defeated.

At nightfall they came down from the Hauts de Meuse and returned to the church, where, after boiled potatoes had been distributed, they lay down on the flagstones to sleep.

Next day they thought they would have to go back to "the battle," but nothing happened. Six days passed. The women did the cooking on tombstones in the graveyard. People changed their linen—they had little enough of it—in the confessional.

One morning they were told that Combres was about to be bombarded, and were led to Herbeuville, some two kilometres away. The people of Herbeuville were shut up in the church; those of Combres remained standing in the middle of the road. Some bombs burst; then they sank to the ground, sitting in the dirt. An order went round: "All the men from Combres and Herbeuville must fall in, as they are going to start."

The women uttered cries and clung to their husbands: it was a cruel moment. Jeanne Beyer stepped forward and asked the officer: "Sir, will you allow my sister and me to go with our old father, who is seventy?" "No, miss," he answered. "We are going too far; we are off to Metz."

To Metz! So far . . . to Germany! When would one see them again? When would they come back?

Then came the last despairing embracings. Nothing was spared to these poor people of Combres and Herbeuville.

They saw the long procession of men move off and turn their heads back, ever looking behind them. And the women had to go in the opposite direction—two trains of folk who loved one another and were torn apart.

The women and children returned to Combres, and spent another four weeks cooped up in the church. On October 18 they had to leave, and on the 23rd they slept in the Rastadt cells.

I listened to this story without saying a word, and at times I turned my eyes from the two sad faces and looked at the country darkling under the overcast sky. It seemed to me that all this suffering thus set forth by them, and all that they had not spoken of but could be guessed, was pursuing us through the night.

The tale goes on, scattered with details which give it the ring of truth, without a word of abuse; these women speak in a steady voice of good and bad alike. The young girl says:

“In the train in Germany we had no bread. But some was given to the soldiers, and the soldiers shared theirs with us.”

The mother takes her up: "They had put the sick on carts, and there were plenty of sick! They brought an old woman wrapped up in her eiderdown. She died during the journey. At the first village we came to they stopped in front of the cemetery and buried her while still quite warm."

"Yes!" said an old man opposite who had been listening silently, "what they are telling you is true of all our villages."

He stopped, and looked out of the window at the passing trees outlined against the dappled sky.

An old peasant woman who had not yet spoken, sitting motionless with her hands folded under her apron, suddenly broke in:

"Ah! war is a great misfortune!"

My eyes roved round the carriage over these still, mute women among their sleeping children. I thought of the train that passed yesterday, of that which will pass to-morrow, with the same groups, the same expressions, the same tragedies—a chorus of sorrow breaking out suddenly. And I saw invaded France, Belgium, Poland, Serbia—all that suffering humanity.

Dear God!

THE PROCESSION OF VICTIMS AT ZURICH

It was at the beginning of March, 1915, that Zurich took her share of the work in hand, as the convoys of refugees now halted for a longer time and the morning train ran straight through to Zurich.

The small committee, which had served well enough so far, as it had little enough to do besides busying itself with taking hot drinks to the train, now had its numbers greatly increased. Henceforward the convoys arrived at seven in the morning and did not leave till half-past ten. About two hundred persons worked at the station under the direction of the committee. There was plenty to do every day in preparing the reception on the next. Each morning one had to give breakfast to five hundred people, besides getting them to wash and providing them with garments; to bathe and reclothe the children; and to tend the sick. There was never any difficulty in enrolling kind nurses, male and female. Everyone felt greatly encouraged by the splendid energy of the population. It can truly be said

that the town of Zurich, like that of Schaffhausen, dedicated itself to the work. Rich and poor—and the very poorest of the poor—lent a hand. Those who had no money to give gave their time. A paper-seller sewed fifty-two children's shirts. Every day anonymous parcels of woollen goods, knitted articles, and clothing came in. On one of these parcels was written: "I give this clothing because I know what wretchedness is."

One day a peasant woman came to look for the president of the committee. She had her market basket on her arm, and wore the little bonnet of the Zurich countrywomen. Presently she sat down, drew out a large, countrified-looking purse, and said in the Zurich patois:

"Monsieur le Pasteur, every time I go to market to sell my eggs I set aside a few sous, and at the end of the year I give them to the very poor. I was told this morning that these folk who pass through the station are the poorest of all. Is that so?"

M. Cuendet assured her that it was. Had they not lost everything?

Then she emptied the contents of her purse into her apron. On being counted, the twenty and fifty centime pieces came to more than thirty francs.

She started off, but, overcome by doubts, turned back on the doorstep and, to make quite

certain, again asked: "Are they really the poorest, Monsieur le Pasteur?" He replied: "Just arrange to see them go by when we are taking them to the Museum; and if you find that they are not the poorest I will return you your money."

Some days afterwards, as he was leading his slow and miserable flock along the street, he suddenly heard himself hailed in a loud voice, and there he saw, planted on the pavement among the crowd of onlookers, the old peasant woman.

"Oh, sir! Yes! you are right! Certainly they are the poorest of all people. Take this!"

She emptied her purse, which contained the morning's takings—twelve and a half francs.

Another day Mme. Cuendet was visited by a very modest-looking, shy woman, who refused the chair offered her and remained standing by the door. Suddenly, without a word, she held out a thousand-franc note, and went away, refusing to give her name—"because in such cases one ought to remain anonymous."

Some time later the president saw a very simply dressed woman enter his room. She behaved in just the same way, would not sit down, and laid a thousand-franc note on the table. He stared at her in amazement. Her appearance, that of a poor working woman, respectable and

diffident, reminded him of the description given by his wife of her visitor.

"Won't you let me write down your name?" he asked.

She shook her head and said, just like the other: "It is quite useless; besides, we are all brothers." Then she withdrew.

He had not recovered from his emotion when Mme. Cuendet returned. She said to him: "It's a funny thing, but I have just met on the stairs my giver of the other day." He replied: "She has brought another thousand francs for the repatriated French!"

Even more than by the things given them are these poor creatures moved by the affection which the German Swiss show them in acts of gentle pity, and all those little services which they are so anxious to proffer: "You see, it is so long a time since anyone troubled themselves about us."

We mention these facts and figures and touching expressions of thanks only because it seems right to emphasize things which prove how sympathetic the people of Eastern Switzerland were with the French exiles, and the eagerness of a whole people to proclaim its brotherhood with these poor victims in the only possible manner—by opening its heart to them and bringing its offerings.

Our guests felt this deeply. With an intuition sharpened by suffering they would say: "Your language is not ours, but your hearts are our hearts."

It was not merely a case of showing sympathy, but a protest, a revolt of conscience against such a war, for which these people were certainly not responsible.

The towns in which the exile trains stopped only a few minutes were anxious to bear their share of the common work. A friend of mine, on the Berne Committee, told me of the following incident:

In the course of the previous winter, as she needed clothes for the refugees, she inserted a short appeal in German in all the Bernese papers, which appeared on the following day. The evening papers came out at about four o'clock, when she happened to be away from home. On returning, soon after six, she was astounded to find that already a great number of parcels had been handed in. The sight moved her to tears.

On the days following, gifts continued to pour in and fill the rooms—right up to the ceilings, she said. It took two packers and six assistants four days to despatch them.

Many districts, notably Saint-Gall and Winterthur, sent clothes to Zurich and Schaffhausen, and to Buchs for repatriated Italians. In the

canton of Fribourg every village sent its contributions.

Did we really give anything to these French refugees? Do we not owe them the least bitter hours of these last few months—hours in which we felt the oneness of Swiss hearts, the blending of wills in a great common effort? Ah! how our poor guests brought us together! They were the bond of union between our furthest frontiers at Schaffhausen and Geneva. Though we often admired their resignation and their undiminished serenity; though we loved them for a quick responsiveness which misfortune had made soft and tender and sensitive to the least sign of affection, we loved them yet more for restoring us to our better selves.

The Zurich Committee received some beautiful letters of thanks from the repatriated. "My heart was full when I saw your country overflowing with tenderness to us," wrote one old man. "Be assured of our everlasting sympathy with your country," wrote another. Switzerland they described as "The nation that shall ever be our sister."

Besides these came collective letters, for instance, that of five hundred French refugees from the Marne Department who held a meeting at Dijon before dispersing:

“ They had no words to express how comforting to them, after the long months of suffering under German domination, had been the warm, brotherly reception given them at Zurich and Geneva.

“ They knew beforehand that Switzerland was hospitable and pitiful to those in trouble, yet they had been astonished and overcome by the care and kindness lavished on them. When entering Switzerland they seemed to be entering their own motherland.

“ What went to their heart even more than this priceless attention was the lively sympathy shown everywhere with France.

“ Never will they forget the intelligent and devoted care shown them, nor the shouts of ‘ Long live France ! ’ which greeted them everywhere during their journey.

“ And so, when resolving that this letter should be sent to the Committees at Zurich and Geneva to thank them for the receptions they organized, before they dispersed they uttered one cry of gratitude: ‘ Long live Switzerland ! ’ ”

Here is another letter sent by a little village to the Zurich Committee, signed by one hundred and three persons:

“ Being deeply touched by the account which has just been given them by a refugee from Meurthe-et-Moselle of the brotherly, kindly wel-

come met with in Switzerland, the ladies of the Patriotic League of Frenchwomen in one town have made it their sacred duty to express at length their deep gratitude for those affecting proofs of sympathy and those delicate attentions.

. . . That welcome was an untold comfort, a healing balm to the wound just inflicted on their hearts, when they were torn from their homes after already enduring the many sufferings of eight months' captivity under the heavy and humiliating yoke of Germany.

"You may be assured, dear friends in Switzerland, that the hearts of us Frenchwomen will ever beat with yours and will never forget you."

In conclusion, I quote from a letter written by some little schoolgirls at Trévoux. It is so pretty and touching that I should like to reproduce it in its entirety.*

"DEAR FRIENDS IN SWITZERLAND,

"We have felt so thankful to you that we had to cry. Some articles from the newspapers were read to us in class describing how our fellow-

* I select these letters from among a large number simply for their documentary value. They seem to me to be such as to dispel an unfortunate misapprehension, by showing the real feelings of the people of German-Switzerland towards the French. Moreover, these spontaneous revelations of feeling do all honour to those whose names they bear.

countrymen interned in Germany were welcomed at Schaffhausen, Zurich, Lausanne, and Geneva. We saw them arrive at Trévoux, the town in which our school is.

“ It was on a Sunday in February. We can still hear them singing the ‘ Marseillaise ’ as they entered the station. Next day they told us what a fine welcome you gave them. They were foul, and you made them clean, showing no repulsion at this unpleasant work; they were hungry, and you fed them; they were cold, and you warmed them. What garments they had were in rags, and you gave them warm clothing. We have ourselves seen the fine, warm, and still spotless ‘ polos,’ the comforters, and the jackets which they received from your hands. Our unfortunate brothers were sad and cast down by all their suffering and misery, and you spoke to them words of love and tender pity. You realized that nothing could be sweeter to people who for six months or more have endured a hard slavery at an enemy’s hands than to hear the stirring air and vengeance-breathing words of our dear ‘ Marseillaise ’; and—a delicate attention which appealed to us more than anything else—they were sung by your young girls. During the Easter holidays we have seen some more of these unhappy prisoners, and they have told us the same story, with the same quiver of gratitude in their voices.

“ We, too, should dearly like to see a Swiss and tell him how our hearts swell with thanks and admiration for your noble nation. Since we cannot convey this in actual speech, we decided to write you this letter, as you simply must be told what we feel.

“ The study of our nation’s history had already made us aware of your generosity. We know that you showed the same kindness when you gave asylum to Bourbaki’s ill-starred army in 1871. The other day we had to write out for dictation a passage from one of our great writers about the entry of our soldiers into Switzerland. We still remember one sentence which draws an unforgettable picture: ‘ At this sight the inhabitants, who had come up in hundreds with gifts in their hands, burst into tears. They came from the towns with clothing, bread, money, meat, and drinkables; even the poorest gave something.’

“ Dear Swiss friends, to-day, as in 1871, you show us that pity, generosity, and charity still endure, though for months past and even at the moment of writing the cannon thunder and men are killing one another.

“ We thank you, dear Swiss friends, from the bottom of our hearts for all you have done. Many thanks on behalf of all the poor mothers, children, and old people you have fed, clothed, and comforted; many thanks to you from us little French

schoolgirls who are your neighbours, as our department borders your country. And we can thank you with all confidence in the name of all the youth of France, which endures, wonders, and hopes at this awful and terrible hour. We, the young people who are called the France of tomorrow, will never forget you.

“THIRD-YEAR PUPILS OF THE HIGHER-
GRADE PRIMARY SCHOOL AT TRÉVOUX,
AIN DEPARTMENT.”

(Here come the signatures of thirty-two pupils.)

* * * * *

On this cold morning in December, 1915, it was still quite dark when, at half-past seven, the train was signalled, bringing 498 persons, including 139 children under twelve years of age, from Lille.

The train came in slowly. At the windows we could see small pale faces pressed together round the tired faces of their mothers. The travellers were made to alight from carriage after carriage, and led in numbered detachments to two huge dining-halls, where they were immediately given places at the tables. As soon as the first detachment was seated the doors opened again to admit the people from the second carriage; then those of the third. In this manner the five hundred guests, led by white-bloused Zurich girls, were

distributed quickly, quietly, and in a most orderly fashion. What sad, weary, downcast faces ! There were melancholy young women surrounded by children, some old people, some young boys—but no men. They looked like poor townsfolk ; but here and there was a group of peasants from the surrounding villages. They had been evacuated to Lille. For the second or even the third time they had had to leave their chance lodgings and set out again.

Many of them seemed scared and anxious. They had been told “over yonder” that they would get a bad reception in Switzerland, and some of the old people had refused to budge.

Already some of the refugees began to smile. While looking after their children, the women managed to say a few words. They spoke of the high cost of living, of the shortage of money, the many vexations, and the anguish they had endured, of the bombs that had recently fallen among them. One of them added : “ Ah ! when one has children it is so very dreadful. If one had none, and there were only one’s self to think of ! ”

At the end of one of the tables was an old priest. What a number of these old priests we have seen pass through ! Their parishioners kept close to them, as to a remnant of their old church. Their mere presence brought assurance

and memories of the village steeple to the weeping band.

The priest now rose and said a few words of warm thanks. The president of the Committee went up to him and thanked him, saying, as he shook his hand, "Monsieur le Curé, we are colleagues, for I am the Protestant minister."

Again the priest stood up. After a moment's silence he exclaimed: "Well, then, sir, let us embrace," and embrace they did.

This priest asked me whether our soldiers were always on the frontiers. When I replied that this was so, and remarked that it is sometimes a difficult matter to mount guard on hills and heights covered with deep snow, a poorly dressed woman at my side held out two one-franc coupons with the words, "For your soldiers."

Meanwhile a detachment of territorial troops dining in the next room made a collection among themselves to supply the refugees with small Swiss flags.

The first squad finished its meal and was led away to the clothing depot by a male and a female guide. The rest waited their turn in the warm rooms attached to the buffet.

Away they go down the street, wherein the dawn is breaking, and passers-by flock round them, eager and brotherly. They cross the magistrate's courtyard at the Museum, or go down into one

of the basements. Footwear is attended to first of all. Ladies briskly ask what is needed, examine the sizes, and fit each person with what he requires. Then come clothes and underwear. Here is the children's table, there the table for men's coats. There is haste without confusion. The first detachment is attended to, and passes out through one door as the second detachment enters through another.

On the station platform the refugees make a hurried toilet in front of their respective carriages at trucks on which are washing-basins and jugs of hot water. Mothers comb out their little daughter's hair—they are fair-haired, these children of Lille. The president distributes toys among them. One would like to be able to stop in the babies' carriage. What a concert of small voices! Just watch them sneezing, with their tiny faces all tears or laughter, and the girls, their kindly nurses, leaning over the baths and washing, scrubbing, and then dressing them, and converting the dirty little baggages of a short time ago into beautiful, well-cared-for babies. What a triumph follows when they are returned to their mothers, and the latter hesitate a moment before recognizing them!

The carriages are now rolling away, and all the bodies leaning out of them wave a last farewell. Already the train is a long way off,

and one can distinguish only the fading outline of handkerchiefs being waved continuously, till at last the carriage disappears entirely in the distance.

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It was thus that echoes of sufferings at Lille reached us. Piecemeal, little by little, we were able to reconstruct the story of the last months spent there. That morning three whole tables in the refreshment room were filled by boys and girls from the workhouse at Lille. The girls are of all ages up to sixteen, but only quite young boys were allowed to leave. What poor, pale, wretched little faces they had, so dull, sad, and wise-looking! They sat there in front of their bread and cheese awaiting leave to begin to eat. The doctor who accompanied them hoped to be able to return to Lille. On several occasions the Germans took to the workhouse small children found beside dead parents in a shelled farm; but it was difficult to save the most weakly of them, owing to shortage of milk. Fortunately the Americans sent in a supply of Nestlé. At times coal ran out, and alcohol had to be burned on a plate near the babies when they were being undressed to protect them against the severe cold.

Refugees told us that typhoid fever had become

very virulent. But the worst martyrdom at Lille was the awful silence that hemmed them in. To have no news of dear ones who were known to be exposed to death continuously was torture to wives and mothers, an anguish clouding every moment of the day.

As they alighted some of them were weeping as if they could not stop. “*He* could not come and see us before war broke out, and now he is gone—I am sure of it, for he is in Class 17.” “No! no! madam. Class 17 has not yet been called to the colours; you are going to see him again.”

Oh! how joy lightened up the tear-streaked face! At first the mother could not believe the news; then she became calm and murmured with a sob:

“But he will have to go, and I have none but him.”

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“When war was declared I was able to escape with my wife, my two children, and sister—who was expecting a child—and her two children. We tramped fifty miles in six days, and as much as nineteen miles in one day. We carried the little ones turn and turn about when they could walk no longer. Our youngster of four did seven and a half miles in two hours. The roads were so blocked that we had to make wide detours. One

woman lost her baby. . . . It was impossible to take anything with us. We ate as best we could. Some people who were driving their cows gave us milk for the children. At Soissons a bridge was blown up behind us just after we had crossed over it. At last we were able to take the train. But never, never since then have we managed to get word of our old folk who stayed yonder."

While in the carriage crowded with Roubaix families I remembered this story, told me by a wounded soldier in hospital, and those words haunted me—"Never, never have we been able to get news. . . ."

Many others uttered the same cry of despair—husbands, fathers, sons. . . . I can see again the sadness in their eyes. They would weep all night under their blankets. Christmas caused them unbearable suffering; every day when their comrades got their letters they suffered cruelly. I can see again the desperate look of a young soldier who had quite lost sight of his wife and four children: "Oh! if I only knew whether they are still alive!"

Nowadays we see the other side of the picture: hearing the agonized cry which goes up from invaded cities, the cry which for a year and a half was lost in the silence. Will these voices ever unite again? For how many will it be too late? How many of them will get no answer?

We have just left Zurich. We have had our last look at the Zurich nurses and members of the Committee drawn up on the platform. As the train rolled out all the refugees burst into tears, overcome by their reception, and feeling that they had to face certainties which perhaps would be terrible. Some of them tried to express their gratitude.

"We never believed that happiness was so near us. . . ." Said another: "In Switzerland we discovered France. We shall never forget all this."

Then they took their seats again, and pulled up the windows. Each returned to his thoughts, and the old pain, which had been dispelled for the moment, came back to confront him.

Tears ran down the face of a young woman who kept her eyes fixed on her little daughter. From time to time she told her beads. Her large wide-open eyes seemed to gaze at things not of this earth.

Her husband was fighting. She had last heard of him in February, and it was now December.

"Ah!" she said, "I have prayed so hard to God that I may meet him again, and my little girl prays every day, too. But so many others ask the same thing who . . ."

She breaks off; she does not like to put her

thought into words, for do not the right words seem to bring the sorrow back again ?

Her travelling companions also wrap themselves up in long periods of silence. All their acts and looks betray the obsession that obtrudes itself between them and the things of daily life. I cannot take my eyes off all these little fair-haired, pretty, red-cheeked children playing and prattling at their mothers' sides—children who, perhaps, are orphaned. Quite a young woman sits in a corner with a little girl on her knees.

“Is that your child ?”

“No !” She had adopted the little waif. She is a working woman who makes soldiers' clothes, and is going to her mother at Paris.

“Oh ! I do hope that I shall find my people well and get work at once,” she says, looking at the child. She has lost all she possessed even to her savings-bank book ; everything was taken from her. With fine energy she continues : “Possessions don't matter, if only we see each other again.”

She confides to me that she means to try to rent a room on the same floor as her mother.

“What will your mother say when she sees your little adopted daughter ?”

She smiles prettily and answers :

“My mother falls in with all my whims,” and adds confidentially : “You see, when one marries

one is not always happy. Isn't that so? *I*, at any rate, shall have a staff for my old age to lean upon."

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The women now begin to talk, exchanging their anxieties and recollections. Ah! living in Roubaix, with butter at ten francs a kilogramme! Many people had to give up meat. What would they have done but for the supplies of cereals, rice, and condensed milk sent by the Americans? The children hadn't done so badly, as the mothers went without for their sake.

A young woman of retiring and refined appearance remarked: "Moral sufferings were the hardest to bear. Otherwise we managed to get along. . . ."

A dark, energetic woman, married to a Swiss, tells how she tried to escape. She managed to leave the town with her little daughter, and they tramped along all day, hiding when necessary, and keeping to by-roads. She carried the little girl. In the evening, just before reaching a village where they meant to sleep, a German soldier levelled his rifle at them. She caught up her child, and was arrested, taken back to Roubaix, and thrown into prison.

"Almost all the women have been to prison," said one of the women. "In some cases for buying contraband potatoes at the frontier."

Some of the women got letters secretly from their husbands—letters which came mysteriously, brought by somebody who disappeared without saying a word. Sometimes “they” held a search, when a neighbour had betrayed the happy recipients. If the letter was found, “they” gave the woman the choice of paying a fine or going to prison; and money was generally so scarce that more often than not prison was chosen. Perhaps one of these secret messengers was captured. He was shot, and the letters on him gave away all the names of the guilty ones. Punishment followed promptly.

Many a woman, on receiving one of these mysterious letters, realized quite well that she ought to destroy it. But she could not make up her mind to destroy that letter, the last souvenir, maybe, of the loved one. So letters were concealed in all sorts of unlikely hiding-places.

They told me of the thousand-and-one annoyances and continual punishments inflicted on them. “At the very hottest season we were forbidden to be out of doors after five o’clock in the evening.” They had to have passes to go from one part of the town to another.

They showed me cardboard sous which now are substituted for all small coinage; they told me their stories with emotion, instancing cases, recalling what had happened to a friend. All

these parallel accounts bear one another out with wonderful exactness.

Some wives had been informed by prisoners taken to Germany of their husbands' deaths; others had heard no news. Nothing at all was known of the quite young people who went away on September 9. This brought them to describe that horrible incident. The fair woman with the quiet manner speaks, while the others nod assent, break in, or recall overlooked details. In other carriages other women take up the same story.

On September 9, 1914, when the Germans were approaching, the order was given that all auxiliary troops—young men of eighteen and nineteen—who had not been mobilized on the first day of the war should clear out. The first detachment managed to get away, but the Germans spied the rest and, taking them for francs-tireurs, opened fire on them with machine-guns and rounded them up. These defenceless, unarmed boys, scared by the bullets, made off and threw themselves into ditches. Some were able to strike the road and get back to Roubaix, where they were captured later on; many were taken prisoners, and many were wounded or killed. Many of them were not heard of again. Those who got away had stories to tell. . . . Ah! how closely these mothers listened! When I hear this talk memories come

back to me. How often our thoughts went out to the cities whose martyrdom we pictured ! It seems now as if the veil were suddenly rent, as we watch their sufferings. And we can do nothing to comfort them. . . .

The country is dazzlingly white in the sunshine. Villages appear among the snow-covered fields. Bernese houses with large-tiled roofs give place to the houses of Zurich. Family groups stand at the windows and in the gardens, and children wave French flags at us. We hear the shouts of welcome. Everywhere along the roads and in the villages, at level-crossings and almost on the track itself, people wait to greet us. Whenever we stop, a crowd flocks into the station and shakes hands, looking with tearful eyes into the eyes of the repatriated French. When we start off again, I lean out of the window and watch the distant groups moving away slowly with shoulders bent. I can interpret their silence: they carry away with them the misfortunes of the poor creatures they have just had a sight of, the sorrow and anguish which exales from this long, ill-omened train. And as they go their ways through the village, these men and women feel vibrate within them all the ties which bind them to land and house, and, like the Zurich peasant woman, think, " These are the poorest of all. . . ."

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To-day I am haunted by these processions of war victims, and two things blend themselves insistently in my memory: pictures of two villages in the war zone—one destroyed, one invaded.

There is a village right at the front near Rheims. Not a house in it is now standing. On both sides of the road one saw a long vista of ruins knocked all to pieces and crumbling continually under the impact of new shells. One could descry through gaping holes in the walls gardens littered with small stones and trying to bloom—a spared branch of lilac, cherry boughs.

One knows the sight so well: we have read about it in the papers, and we have heard the refugees speak of it a hundred times—"Everything has been smashed up at our place." As we walked among these remains of farms, it seemed impossible to believe what one saw, and I, too, felt stunned as by an unforeseen catastrophe.

This, then, is the sight that they had before them, and contemplated with a sad, fixed gaze, which we vainly tried to distract. How many times have they said to me: "Anyone who hasn't seen it cannot imagine what it is."

Yet, in spite of all this, they were unable to make up their minds to leave the ruins! Here are the two last inhabitants, who left but a fortnight ago—under compulsion. These gutted houses were still "home" for them; they were

so accustomed to the growling of the guns, the periodic roar, the long-drawn-out whistling of the shells which made us shudder, that they no longer heeded them.

Slowly we approached the strange form silhouetted against the sky—the remains of the church. Just a bit of the tower has escaped: just a bit of the roof still stands, goodness knows how; a fragment of the doorway still holds up its mosaic tympanum: there is a Christ among His sheep, and below the words “I am the bread of life.” The statue of a martyr fallen at the foot of the steps raises its head and seems to protest by gesture and look.

The invaded village seemed to us to be even more pitiful still than the one that had been wrecked. From our observation-post we could see it among the fields, not far from us, silent and apparently deserted under the young foliage. But it is still inhabited, though no smoke rises from its roofs and no peasant stoops over the land close by. Around it stretches the absolutely empty green, sun-kissed plain, seamed from end to end by the hard lines of the trenches, a huge white network which covers the whole expanse: French trenches, German trenches, run on and on in an apparently meaningless fashion, climb the folds of the ground, and are lost to sight in the distant

hills. The only objects that arrest the eyes are the copses of barbed wire. What an empty, deadly plain is this, now so strangely inhabited by invisible inhabitants ! No human being who values his life must show himself for a moment. How can one realize that the Germans are in their burrows quite close, only three hundred and fifty yards away ? How can one imagine that from those blue, soft distances and harmoniously coloured hills death may descend on us every time we hear the guns ? Hostile eyes are all round us ; nothing escapes them. An imprudent movement, a head raised thoughtlessly above the screen, and all is over.

It is this which besets and stabs us—this empty countryside stretched round these farms, the dim outlines of the hills, death moving everywhere under this hot springtide sun—death in its loneliness, mistress of all, holding all this stretch on which man has enthroned it, who alone walks in these wonderful fields and visits the invaded village.

My eyes keep turning back to it, so near and yet more inaccessible than a village in another world. The commander's field-glasses enable me to examine it at close quarters. It seems as if I could touch these farms, knock on their doors, go inside and look for their mysterious occupants.

They are there, no doubt, bent, obedient, undergoing a thousand restraints, harassed in a thousand ways. They are at home, yet not at home. They are no longer masters of their business, their time, their cattle, scarcely even of their lives—which are theirs only if they do not disobey orders. They live lives of terror, grief, and torture. Their nights are hag-ridden. They just wait. And when they see the lilac burst into flower again their one thought is: “For the second time, this, since we were invaded.”

They know nothing. Do they know, in this springtime of 1916, that henceforward they have something to hope for? Scanty news will at last be able to cross the iron circle, and they will soon learn whether their sons are dead.

While I watched this village heaped in ruins among the fields, hedged about and dismal, the words of the refugees returned and hovered around me, and became a terrible reality in the presence of actual suffering. Their wailing seemed to rise from the captured farms and reach us across the spaces which it filled with its despair.

Lille, Roubaix, Valenciennes, and many others! Dumb cities, villages round which silence has reigned for almost two years: your desolate look will haunt me henceforward. You have spoken

to me with the voice of these refugees who were driven from you into exile. They have made us feel your suffering. As we tend them and drink in their words, our hearts go out to you.

We know, too, that hope upholds you, and that you live with your eyes upon the future.

THE PROCESSION OF VICTIMS AT GENEVA.

ALMOST every day for week after week from the end of the autumn of 1914 the station at Geneva saw trains come in filled with these unhappy travellers. The interned civilians crowded to the windows of the carriages, which were kept locked, and stared at the committee-men drawn up on the platform. But not one of them went through the almost automatic action of leaning out and opening the door. They were accustomed to discipline.

At last we made them alight, which they did with leisurely haste. Their hands were encumbered with all kinds of incongruous baggage—badly tied up cardboard boxes, bloated string-bags, parcels sewn up in canvas, baskets, and overworked valises. Some women carried their babies and led the older children by the hand.

In a twinkling the platform was invaded by a silent crowd with wretched, sad faces: women, more women, children, young people, old people, all weary and clad in worn-out, dirty clothes.

They are the replica of the convoy which went through yesterday, and just like those which will

come to-morrow. All have the same obedient, resigned look of folk accustomed to long endurance. They approach the exit. Those behind begin to run. They fill the staircase and subway. Presently they are arrayed in column between the stewards, civilian police, auxiliary relief workers, and Samaritans. Then off they go to the welcome awaiting them at the school at Pâquis or in the Rue de Berne. A sad procession is this. The strong daylight reveals their blotched complexions, their swollen faces, the disorders of their dress. Some are so footsore in their broken shoes that they must be helped to walk. Old people, too weary to stand, are supported. Women weep silently: their neighbours take their arms. Everybody helps everyone else; and this gives an impression of brotherliness which one does not see in light-hearted crowds.

Even the folk over there, who are better clad than the rest, and whose jewels speak of affluence, have the same subdued look. One might describe this as a great flock of human sheep going quietly to its fate.

Least unfortunate are those who were captured during a summer excursion, and who finished their holiday in some convent or abandoned factory in the French province, or in a concentration camp in Western Germany. Listen to this old French Alsatian woman:

"I had worked hard for twenty-five years, and wanted to take my daughters to my old village in Alsace. We started on July 24. . . ."

All the still young women have been separated from their husbands, detained in enemy country—for how long? With what a gesture they enfold their children in their skirts, as they shed sad tears, soon checked.

The sight of them takes one suddenly into the awful situations created by the war. It bares the disorder of lives which in a day were robbed of common rights, snatched from the world, separated from those dear to them.

Frenchwomen married to Germans, German women married to Frenchmen, cast off by their own people, and driven from their native land, unfortunates whose brothers fight on one side and the husband, maybe the son, on the other—their hearts are torn by a double agony, their dumb despair is as a mask on their faces.

"It wasn't possible to get a divorce, was it? Then, you know, you get to love one another all the more after suffering so much together."

Some of these lonely women tell us: "I am going to Germany, where I don't know a single soul, and I cannot speak German. What sort of a reception shall I get yonder?"

All their past is a blank, and they dare not think of the future.

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One day there came a convoy of Hungarians and Dalmatian Italians. All the young women had babies in arms. Many of them were very pretty, with their bright eyes, white teeth, and dark complexions. They wore gaily-coloured kerchiefs on their black, plaited hair. On this dull day of the late autumn they seemed to bring with them a touch of Eastern splendour into the room. Despite their obvious wretchedness, these women did not appear crushed or frightened. No doubt, travelling had no surprises for them, and they were quite ignorant of the complexities of civilized life. The sight of them made us think of the gipsy tribes which roam on the open plains bordering the Black Sea.

I remember one of them, a bareheaded woman with wrinkled face, golden skin, and slender hands, who spoke in unintelligible German—an unmistakable gipsy. She had sons who played in an orchestra and had been detained "down yonder."

"She had spent her whole life travelling," said an old man who had come up to act as interpreter. The old nomad could no longer endure her shoes, which galled her. No doubt she had been accustomed to do all her travelling barefoot. She was given some cloth sandals, into which she joyfully inserted her tiny feet. She expressed her thanks by a curtsy, so graceful,

smiling, and dignified that one of us exclaimed in admiration, "She has the manner of a queen!"

A queen!—the ruler of more than a narrow kingdom, owner of all space, of all the world's beauty, was this old gipsy who had travelled "all her life," preferring (to mere comfort) the boundless liberty of one who owns nothing.

I still seem to see another wanderer, a grey-haired shepherd in his long coat and sabots, who recalled the patriarchal life in tents, with its bivouac fires and long, lonely tramps across country behind a flock of leisurely, jostling sheep. He spent the whole afternoon in the courtyard with his dog, "so that he should not disturb people." He was on his way back to his own country in Alsace, for "there is always work for shepherds." He had a married daughter in Switzerland, but could not remember her address or the name of the town in which she lived. He had lost sight of her, and now his dog was his all. How grateful he was because they fed the animal! A lady of the Committee promised to look after it while he went and got some supper with the convoy in the public kitchens. On returning, he exclaimed, "It was like a wedding-feast!" The lady presented him with a bowl to give his dog drink from during the journey, and he thanked her, adding, "That will do for the two of us."

When he said good-bye he promised the lady who had looked after his one and only friend, "When I get yonder I'll write you a letter, but I should like you to send me a reply." She promised him that she would do so.

Most pitiful of all were the strings of old men, who in a way seem even more destitute and forsaken than the women. Here is an old workman who has toiled all his life in France. He is asked, "Why didn't you get yourself naturalized?" and answers, "I couldn't; no, I couldn't. And I was earning four and a half francs a day."

This rag picker, a short, thick-set man who speaks French perfectly, has lived in France for sixty years, and is sixty-seven years old. He has been operated on twice for cataract, but sees none the better for it. "It is all right during the day," says he, "but when it gets a bit dark I don't know where I am." We gave him an overcoat—a thing he probably had never possessed before—and he protested that he was "clothed like a prince."

Another man, an old shepherd, all doubled up with rheumatism, dragged himself along leaning on his stick. He spoke to us of his flock—three hundred and eighty sheep—and his three dogs. Forty of the sheep belonged to him: they represented all the savings of his long life. When the

Germans came in search of him he had to leave them behind, as there was no time to sell them, and so lost his all. He kept one dog, but had to kill it, and now owned nothing. Then he caught the rheumatism in the shed where he had to lie on straw.

“ I shall not be able to mind sheep any longer,” he said, “ and shall have to be helped.”

Victims of the war ! It is not only the splendid, strong soldiers who lay down their lives, or who come back, disabled, to a darkened existence. They at least get some glory, and enjoy the feeling of having fulfilled a primary duty; for them there are decorations, pensions—above all, the respect and admiration of their neighbours, of the whole country.

But who shall comfort these humble victims—all those who unknowingly, and often without realizing it, are engulfed in disaster, and who also pay the penalty with their health, with the loss of the hard-won competence, with their happiness, maybe with life itself? They, too, have done their duty all their life through. And the misfortunes that have swooped down on them are the harder to bear in that they seem inexplicable and profit their country not at all.

These victims are whole populations over whom the invasion swept, who have passed through weeks and months of terror, for whom life will

never again be as it was before. When one tries to sum up such suffering one feels the grip of agony and horror, and it seems as if one would never dare again to think of the future.

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Weeks passed by. We saw people come in who had been rounded up in Germany or captured at the time of the invasion, dwellers in districts near the frontier—Longwy, Audun-le-Roman, Blamont, Cirey, Badonviller, Dompierre-au-Bois, and many other villages with pretty French names which now have an ominous ring.

These men and women alighted from the carriages encumbered with miscellaneous baggage, poor articles snatched up hastily in the confusion of a hurried departure, rammed into baskets, wrapped up in cloths, packed into dirty old haversacks which had doubtless seen war service, or tied up in potato-bags. Their appearance gives one a striking impression of what the exodus must have been, the exodus of a whole people terrified by fire and bursting shells, as they fled in fear of the enemy, carrying off their little ones, and forgetting in the last panic-stricken moments to take absolutely necessary things with them. When they collected on the station platform in an unhappy mob, all said just the same thing—“We have nothing else; just that.”

Before leading them off their baggage had to

be disposed of, and this was not always an easy matter. Old women kept going back to their bundles, unwilling to believe that they would get them again, later on, at Annemasse; for amid the general shipwreck these poor relics were their sole remaining property, and they trembled at the mere thought of losing them.

"Let me have your basket; they are going to drive you in a motor-car," said a steward to a sick old woman whom he was helping to walk.

"No! no! I can't give it up. I want to keep it with me, or it will get stolen." With a frantic gesture she hugged her basket—now her only possession—which contained a small coffee-pot and a pot of jam!

The clocks are striking seven o'clock in the morning. It is still dark; the wintry dawn breaks slowly. A train has just come in. Evacuated French-people fill the great baggage-hall: the men seated in rows on benches, the women amid groups of children. They look miserable, with their dejected attitudes and lead-coloured complexions. An expression of terrified sadness seems frozen on their faces. They are people from the devastated departments of the Meuse and the Marne who were taken away to Germany, and are now being repatriated, to the number of about three hundred.

In the grey morning light and through heavy rain they are led to the restaurant. The few passers-by stop on the kerb and regard them with dismay. The people of the neighbourhood, accustomed as they now are to see these pitiful convoys pass through, have never yet been in the presence of such distress.

A working man takes off his cape, throws it round the shoulders of an old fellow, and makes off quickly.

After coffee had been served, the procession re-formed and continued its journey to the school in the Rue de Berne. The stewards helped to carry the children, most of whom had coughs. One small girl, enfeebled by bronchitis and fever, fell down in the mud. Some women wore list slippers sopping with water; the old ones moved with difficulty, all doubled up. Old men dragged themselves along, aided by their sticks. Many were wrapped up in brand-new shawls and scarves, given them at Schaffhausen, contrasting strongly with the general poverty of their clothes.

It was now daylight. The procession moved very slowly over the dripping cobblestones. It brought tears to the eyes to turn and watch the sad, pale, weary faces of this crowd of poor people plodding along through the rain. They seemed as it were, to regard misfortune, long wanderings, and endless fatigue as a natural state of things.

They were herded from one place to another without knowing whither they were being taken. They said: "What is to become of us when we get to France?" There is no longer any place that they wish to go to, where they are expected and will feel at home. Their villages—Saint-Rémy, Dommartin, Dompierre-au-Bois, Mouzay, and others—have been bombarded and burnt. Such houses as remain standing have been pillaged from top to bottom. "If only we can find work!" say some of them. That is the only wish that we ever heard them put into words.

Meanwhile the Samaritans' motor-car had taken the most helpless to the infirmary—some paralyzed old men, a refugee who had become insane, and a few poor old women whose legs would not carry them. All the beds are filled, and in the passage five weakly women sit on a bench in a row, awaiting their dinner.

Their ideas are all confused; they do not know where they are; they no longer have any news of their scattered children. They cannot say what countries they have been in—this, that, the other—what does it matter? Yet they can recall, even in the minutest details, one terrible fact: the burning of their houses under their very eyes and the seizing of their livestock. "I had worked hard for fifty-sixty years, and then—this."

Can one realize what such a disaster means to peasants whose whole life and effort have centred in their farms, fields, and cattle? To judge by their rigid, mask-like features, which can no longer show astonishment, they are buried in the ruin of their lives.

However, in the warm hall upstairs these shipwrecked folk appear to cheer up a little, and begin to talk.

When, in August, 1914, the inhabitants of the Meuse fled towards central France to escape the invasion, these people refused to move, preferring to stay in their villages with their cattle. "Ah! if we had only known, for we lost everything just the same," they say, and go on to describe the systematic devastation of their farms and the pillage of their plate, linen, and furniture.

"Our fine furniture," says an old woman, and gives a list: sideboards, cupboards, coppers, presses, wrecked by axes. Floors were torn up, even the doors smashed, and all their little belongings ruined, broken to pieces, and flung on to the dung-heap.

A woman said: "It broke my heart."

"What about your cattle?"

"They took them away, and never gave us a receipt. We have nothing left at home, not even a rabbit."

Most of them have undergone the terrible trials

of bombardment. The Germans made them take refuge in the church, though, as a woman said, "We should have been better sheltered in our barns, because of the hay there."

"When we heard the shells coming," said another, "we went like this"—she seized her child and bent over it—"so that if we were killed the little one should not be hurt." Nothing could be more touching than the way in which she did it: it showed frequent practice.

They were herded in the church for days, crowded together, sleeping as best they could on flagstones covered with a little straw, anxious to go home and fetch a blanket. The story of Dom-pierre-au-Bois is especially tragic. The Germans who first occupied the place were not destructive, and paid for what they took. Then the French Dragoons drove them out. An old peasant is telling the story: "We were very pleased at this, and offered them flowers. But the Germans returned in swarms, just like ants. They put the whole lot of us in the church, and while we were there pillaged all our houses one after the other. They threatened to shoot us, and for two days we believed that they were coming to fetch us out to execution every time the door opened. Some of the women fainted through fright. . . ."

The Germans had planted batteries and were firing on the Fort of Troyon. The fort replied, and

French shells fell on to the unlucky village. The description reminded me of the regret expressed by a French soldier:* "How could we give freedom without destruction; how win back more than pitiful ruins and the poor survivors whose bitter anguish we realized even as we swept forward in pursuit?"

"It is at times like these that one cannot but feel the unbearable horror of temporary loss of land and livelihood. One can understand the full meaning of 'occupation' only where and when it bursts over the heads of its victims.

"There we were, making for the well-known, familiar scene. The others, the occupiers, remained crouching in our houses, under the shadow of our church towers, between which they dig their burrows. We had to fire on them—so we fired."

A young peasant girl interrupted the old man: "Of course our soldiers could not stop firing for the sake of a few civilians. . . . It had to be."

"A shell burst in the church. Then it seemed as if one could not see properly any longer. Everybody rushed out, and then came back again, when we found that the rest were not following. We saw the dead and wounded—twenty-two dead and seventeen wounded."

* Maurice Gandolphe, *La Marche à la victoire*.

It was a terrible scene: families wiped out; a woman lying dead with her six-weeks-old baby in her arms; another killed while suckling her child, which was found alive in her skirts; a woman about to give birth to a child, with her foot blown off; her husband, father, and mother lying lifeless around her. They took her away to the schoolroom, where she kept screaming for several days lying on the straw. She was then removed to Mars-la-Tour, and was at last able to die, after giving birth to a dead child.

The most severely wounded were left in the church among the dead bodies till the following day. From the uninjured altar the statue of the Virgin looked down on this hecatomb of women, children, and old men.

"My poor wife kept asking for water," said an old man, "but I was not allowed to take her any, and she died thirty-six hours later."

A terrible dialogue begins between the men and women sitting on the benches.

"*I* had my twenty-years-old daughter killed."

"And *I*, my mother and my three sisters."

"And *I*, my husband."

"The very pale little girl you see over yonder is an orphan whom her cousin had adopted. Her cousin was cut in two."

"Ah! when we get together we talk of it, and it seems as if it were all still happening."

They speak of their hurried departure a few days later, and of long tramps along the roads. They had to carry their children when too tired to walk. The wounded went away in carts, several dying before reaching Germany. At Metz a crowd collected to watch them go past, and they saw some of the German ladies weep. They went first to one place, then to another. They were well treated at the barracks, where they spent the last weeks, for the soldiers were reservists with wives and children of their own.

It seems like a dream to listen to these refugees, to whom the worst of misfortunes will henceforward appear quite ordinary happenings. In the future nothing will be able to cause them surprise or emotion. There is a terrible significance in the words, "We have shed all our tears."

At ten o'clock the convoy was taken to the tramway which would transport it to Annemasse. A pitying crowd looked on. Some women, unasked, had brought parcels of clothing to the Rue de Berne, and they cried as they distributed them. Others, standing on the pavement, waited till the French people passed and gave them things. One of them, on hearing an old peasant woman lament an umbrella left "over yonder," cried: "Wait a minute, madam," and soon came back all out of breath, and handed an umbrella to the

poor amazed old woman, apologizing for the fact that "it was not quite new."

Then another came running up with a fine warm cloak, which she laid on her shoulders.

We watched the vehicles disappear in the distance. We asked ourselves: "Where are these people going to? Who will welcome them and help them to regain a little happiness in spite of their terrible memories and regrets for their ruined farms?"

It often happened that the convoy arrived by the 9 p.m. train. The procession was formed quickly, headed by old and helpless men and young boys. Then came the women, many of whom had babies in their arms and little ones clinging to their skirts.

We led them through the night down dark streets to the restaurant, passing between two walls of people who had in some manner got news of our coming, and were waiting for the French unfortunates in respectful, pitying silence. Those of us who carried the children were aware of a shuddering pity and of moving figures which bent over the small sleepers. Outstretched hands offered chocolate, dainties, clothes. A woman took off her woollen scarf and wrapped it round a little girl as she went by.

The refugees were accommodated in two large

rooms of the temperance hotel at Montbrillant, where they were given a hot meal. There were flowers on the tables. Ladies took possession of the little ones so that their mothers might get some food. Milk was served out for the babies and sucking-bottles prepared for the night. Committee-men helped the servants by carrying empty plates. The restaurant proprietor, noticing that a child had scarcely anything on under its dress, exclaimed: "I will go upstairs to see whether my wife hasn't something she can give her."

Under cover of the passing to and fro of the waiters conversation begins, at first in a low voice, then in louder tones. Things are progressing nicely. Tired faces relax; some take on a look of content, others remain sad and anxious. Many of the women have their husband and son at the war, and get no news of them. One woman in deep mourning tells us how her husband was wounded by a bullet, and how she was carried away, leaving him in his agony. Some ask in a distracted manner whether they will be allowed to return home, to districts near the firing-line. Surely their own houses will not be forbidden them?

All are deeply touched by the general display of sympathy, which they felt immediately after reaching the Swiss frontier. They expected that

they would have to sleep in the stations, but were welcomed and well looked after at Schaffhausen and all along the route—at Zurich, Berne, and Lausanne. They were given clothes, fruit, and other delicacies. At Berne they caught sight of one of our officers, and raised a shout of “Long live Switzerland!”

Our eyes fill with tears as we listen to them, for with the terrible recollections of their sufferings is linked the name of our country, a name that sounds sweetly in their ears.

In the school buildings, where beds have been made up and tables decorated with flowers, the committee-men proceed with the work of administration. We take the women and children into the bathroom, with its hot water, tubs and basins arranged on benches. The toilet of the youngest now begins. Women say to us: “Just fancy, we have been travelling now for three months, now to one village, now to another! Yesterday, at Schaffhausen, for the first time, we had a bed to sleep in and were able to take our clothes off.”

The room is soon transformed into a nursery. Babies lying on the beds kick their legs while being rubbed down. Some of them begin to cry; it is late, and they are sleepy. Others are still smiling. All these mites, who have come from far away and gone through so much, are calm and

protected by their wonderful ignorance of things; these little ones lack nothing, so long as they have their mothers' arms around them.

A small boy has undressed himself without help while his mother is busy with the younger children, and stands there naked and smiling, looking at us. While we bend together over the beds and help the mothers to clothe their little ones, they confide to us their troubles and difficulties. One young woman sobs as she swaddles her latest-born, for she has just been told that she will probably not be able to return to her town, which is in the danger zone. She says: "I don't know where to go to now, for I don't know a single soul."

A little girl begins to prattle, for she, too, must have her say. It is: "The Germans took my doll." Her father went off to the war, but he might just as well have stayed with them, as the war came to their village.

I notice a fine, plump, rosy-cheeked infant who smiles at his mother while she performs his toilet. "What a fine baby, madam! What is his age?" She straightens herself, and I see that she is quite young. Proudly she replies: "Four months. I am suckling it, and goodness only knows what horrible things I have eaten to keep my milk. The others were revolted, but I took no notice. I thought only of my baby, and ate whatever came

along. There, now, see how heavy he is." She tests his weight proudly, and says again: "Yes, I have eaten some queer things."

They bring in a child of six years old who has just been attended to in the infirmary. She carries her arm in a sling. "Did the Germans hurt your poor little hand?" She raises a sweet face, very peaceful and pale, and answers in a weak voice: "No, ma'am; we were in the church." Then the women in low tones tell me the story of this lonely little girl, whom one of them charitably took away with her. Her mother, who lives in Paris, sent her and a three-years-old sister to spend the summer with her grandparents at Dompierre-aux-Bois. Dompierre-aux-Bois! Yes, we know that name, for it will always be associated with tragedy. It brings to mind other stories told us by weeping women—of the church gutted by shells, of death falling like a thunderbolt on the crowded refugees.

The little girl's grandparents, uncle, aunt, and sister, were all killed, and now they are taking her back to Paris, and her mother as yet knows nothing.

The picture evoked by this story is almost unbearable in this room filled with the chirruping of the babies: the corpse of the three-years-old child which they carried away, and the older sister escaped by a miracle and following blindly.

“The wounded will never get well,” adds an old woman of eighty-two, whose hand has been a long time healing and keeps on discharging.

The babies are in bed, clean and quiet, and falling asleep. The mothers surround the German-Swiss girl who came with them from Schaffhausen. She is about to leave them, and all want to say good-bye and shake her hands and thank her. “Oh, miss! I should dearly like to embrace you;” and these strangers of yesterday exchange kisses.

Meanwhile the old woman continues: “The most terrible thing of all was not the burning of our houses, but our being led away as if we were criminals by German soldiers—soldiers with fixed bayonets!”

What a curiously rustic way of looking at things! The forced departure and military escort appeared to her a disgraceful ending to a long life of honest work. *That* she could *not* forgive.

The surprising feature of all these stories of bombardment and incendiarism is the calm manner in which they are told. No complaints are heard: the loss of property seems to be a matter of course—“What can you expect?—it’s war.” While middle-class folk, owners of burnt factories, wax indignant and abusive and kick against their fate, these poor people, being accus-

tomed to trouble, speak quite quietly about their losses, without animosity. They have no idea where they are off to, "though, of course, we shall be sent somewhere where we shall be undisturbed." They take everything for granted. "We couldn't prevent things of this kind happening, could we?"

Their misfortune clothes them in a kind of dignity; they have been through so much. In their opinion others are still more unfortunate. "Look at that woman there," they say: "her husband is dead, her house burnt, and she has no news of her son. And that one over there has lost her child." What sweetness is shown by these people, who, though broken-hearted themselves, can still feel compassion for others.

One day, by an unlucky chance which every effort had been made to prevent, a procession of French old men and boys met a convoy of interned Germans in the street, to the great distress of the committee-men. The upshot was quite unexpected. An old Frenchman raised his hat to them with the words: "They are poor devils, just like us!" That was all.

* * * * *

One evening they brought an old French peasant woman into the infirmary. It so happened that, owing to quite unusual circumstances, all the other beds were occupied by German

women. The old lady, sitting in her chair in the quiet and half-darkened room, began to speak. She came from a village near Saint Mihiel which was occupied by the Germans and bombarded, being right in the centre of the battle area. The inhabitants were taken away to Germany, travelling from one place to another—to Sarrebourg, and finally to Saverne, where they were imprisoned. Certainly, they were told that they were not like the other prisoners, but there was no other place for them. The Sisters were very kind to them, and gave them what they had, so it was no fault of theirs that they were badly fed. Then, ladies of Saverne—Alsations, who sympathized with the French—came to visit them, bringing clothes, linen for the most destitute, food, sausages, etc.

She stops, and her pale, wrinkled face smiles at the recollection. Doubtless she cannot read—she is one of those old peasants whom one still runs across in out-of-the-way country places whose whole life slips quietly away between the narrow boundaries of their farm walls. At times she speaks with animation; at times she falls silent and stares straight before her, as if she saw quite close to her things that had just happened. She says:

“Nowadays I haven’t even a chair of my own, not a fork—nothing!”

I ask her: "Was your village burnt?"

She nods assent. "Yes; many houses were burnt."

"But not yours?"

"Yes," she answers, and is silent for a moment, her head bent forward. She has two sons in the army, and two daughters who escaped with her, but have been lost sight of. The village was bombarded for twelve days on end, and all the villagers hid themselves in their cellars. When a cellar fell in, they went into another. She stayed till the very last moment, on account of her beasts, but finally had to let them all loose because the stable caught fire. "Anyone who has not actually seen the thing with his own eyes cannot imagine what it is." She adds: "But what can you expect?—it is war."

But these simple words, interrupted by spells of silence, evoked terrible pictures which gradually filled the room, in which the German women listened silently. One girl, lying on the next bed, raised herself up that she might not lose a word. The old woman continues:

"I can't complain of the German soldiers. They naturally asked us for things; they had to eat, hadn't they? But it wasn't their fault that they were there. They had to fight for their country, as ours fight for ours, and I warrant they would have been glad enough to stay at home."

When food ran out they gave us part of their stew. I used to wash their things for them. When the shells came along, they squeezed themselves with us into the cellars, and we stayed there all together."

She forgets all about the soup, which is getting cold on her knees, and goes on:

"The day on which we had to clear out I was making up the pigs' food. A German officer wrote something on the door. Then the Germans started firing with their cannon over our heads at the French at the bottom of the hill beyond the vineyard. Oh! they didn't bother about looking for grapes!" She stops a moment to smile at her tragic little joke.

"The French on their side fired low at the village, and it was their shells that set our houses on fire. When I saw wounded Germans lying on the ground I began to shed tears for them as for our own men. We were told that we should do well to get away; so we left everything behind—provisions, grapes, cattle. We had to clear out without taking anything with us. The houses were burning—they made a fine bonfire! Yes! it's a terrible war," she adds.

I listened as in a troubled dream to this painful picture of invasion and fighting drawn in the midst of these German women, who gradually ceased to be hostile and allowed themselves to be won over

by the pity which I could read in their faces; and this pity turned into admiration of this ignorant, blunt, simple old body who never complained and still managed to smile. The young German girl took up the story in turn. She had not been interned. She was nurse to an American lady, and had crossed France with her mistress and seen some wounded men. "And those wounded Frenchmen were so bright!" Suddenly she turned to the Lorraine countrywoman and said: "You are quite right, quite right, to smile. One must keep up one's courage at all costs."

It seemed to me that the poor old woman, though robbed of all she possessed, had won a victory by gaining over her enemies and compelling their admiration.

* * * * *

When the repatriated children pass by, clinging to their mothers—the youngest placid and smiling, the older ones in some cases still pale and sad-eyed, and refusing to be cheered up—I always think of a little Lorraine girl whom I knew in a village of Haute-Savoie to which her parents had been evacuated: a little girl of six who glanced round her in a frightened way and "was never seen to smile."

Her mother said that she had been very strong and rosy-cheeked, but had suffered much, and children find it most difficult to bear up. This

woman had the depressed manner of people who have been through endless trouble. She called her little daughter, who sat in a corner with her hands hanging down, to her side. "Now go and play with the others," she said. The country-women, guessing her anxiety, kept saying: "She is so young! She will forget. Just look how these others have picked up already!" But the mother shook her head. "Children are not all alike, are they?"

She was a little fair-haired girl whose grey eyes were always fixed on the distance. But in former days, when she was herself, the day seemed all too short. She would blush with pleasure when the mistress kissed her at the end of class. She was prepared to believe that everyone was kind when a neighbour brought her from Lunéville market some cakes which she shared with her friends. Of an evening she would play on the village green while her elders walked about arm-in-arm. Before going to sleep she said her prayers, convinced that the good God loved her well.

Then the terrible thing happened—rifle-shots fired at men; the flight to the cellars where they huddled together; her father in tears; and then hunger—she dared not say how hungry she was! An old farm-hand had said: "This can't go on much longer; we must have food for the children." Then came the night, and he brought in three

loaves without being detected. The man was never seen again. Of what happened after that she knew nothing. Scenes became all mixed up; terrified faces flitted past her. It was said that the Mayor had gone mad. . . . Then the French troops entered, and they were able to eat and sleep.

But one morning her mother seized her by the hand with the words, "Quick! we must be off!" The whole village was in flight. Some took sacks and wheelbarrows with them, but soon dropped them, to be able to run faster. What horrified her most was the lame old woman whom they had to leave on the roadside, and who kept calling after them in a voice of despair.

At the top of the hill they looked back. All the village was ablaze. She tried to make out their farm among the flames, but her mother dragged her away. They trudged along all day without rest or food, and reached another village. The next day a battle raged all round them. Hidden in a cellar, they could hear the shells bursting and the shrieks and shouts of men. The little girl thought that the end of the world had come. Even God had forgotten them.

A long time went by . . . that was all she knew, for the day was just the same as the night. They heard wounded men calling softly, "Comrades, mercy! mercy, comrades!" but nobody

dared go to them. They still had to escape. Some French soldiers, covered with blood, dragged themselves into the street and asked for water, and the girl was astounded to see her mother turn from them and hurry along. When they got outside the village they had to tread on body after body—Frenchmen, Germans, lying heaped together. And horses, too, with their bellies ripped open. And the blood! . . . Her mother kept dragging her along, saying, "Don't look!" Then the stench, the mere thought of which makes one turn from one's food!

They walked on and on. Her feet became so sore that she did not know how she managed to keep on her legs. A town was seen in the distance, on the edge of the plain; they must reach it. Her father and mother gave her their hands; but how slowly that town approached! At last they were crowded into a waggon, and they went no one knew whither.

To-day they were well off . . . this quiet village was just like their own. People spoke softly to her, but it seemed to her that things would never be the same as "before." Her mother said with a groan: "To think that one has lost everything and that one is among foreigners!"

The little girl was suffering from a more deeply hidden trouble than mere sorrow for their de-

stroyed farm. She could not put it into words, but when she sat with her hosts in the farmhouse that was to be her home, and was pressed to eat, her throat seemed to close and she could not swallow.

Other little girls took her by the hand and carried her off with them—friendly and cheerful little girls. The village was surrounded by trees laden with fruit, and grapes ripened on the vines. Poultry picked about on the doorstep, as in old times; the weather was fine; she saw well-known sights again; nothing seemed changed. Other children who had also come from a long way off played about, now quite accustomed to the new life. But she could not do it, and soon they found her sitting by herself, with staring eyes and a pale little face that had forgotten how to smile.

Nothing could reconcile her with a world which she had suddenly discovered to be full of cruelty. Clothes, presents of toys, kind words, even her mother's care, were unavailing to heal the poor injured heart of this trustful and trusting little girl.

She died a little more than two weeks after her arrival. The doctor declared that a slight wound in her foot had become inflamed and set up general blood-poisoning. But her father believed that she had had her blood "curdled" by the sight of so many horrors.

The country-folk standing round the narrow grave shook their heads sadly. To bring a child so far and then see her die in three days ! .

While the repatriated families pass through our streets I look at the dark or fair heads, the eight to ten year old faces—the age at which suffering begins but cannot yet be understood. How many over-sensitive little girls and precocious boys wake up at night with a start, bathed in sweat, and again pass through those hours of terror !

* * * * *

If only one could tell of all those things: those talks, those extraordinary or heartrending cases ! Every day one heard of more distress. One lived in the heart of tragedy, always the same, but always varying and constantly renewed. The nameless horrors of war entered these rooms with every convoy—became the very air which we breathed—and it seemed as though we could never have sympathy and tenderness enough to relieve this burden of disaster.

A woman in mourning with prematurely aged face sat apart, huddled up on her valise, speaking to no one, waving aside the tea offered her, turning her head away when spoken to. A Geneva lady sat down beside her and quietly took her hand. "Whom have you lost?" she asked. Then she said in a low, sad voice, "My little daughter," and added, with eyes fixed on vacancy,

as if she still saw the awful scene: "She was seven years old. A bullet struck her right under my eyes." Then silence; there was nothing to say. The mother continued: "Yet she had done no harm."

The two women were silent: words only wound sorrow like this. The poor woman, who for weeks had been left all alone with her broken heart, felt the love offered her. Suddenly she began to cry, and kept on crying—the first tears that she had been able to shed. The sight of her sitting there sobbing with her face in her hands reminded me of a child's remark which I had lately heard. A teacher asked his pupils, "What does weeping mean?" The little things were at a loss, as they could not define it.

"Come, now, when does one weep?" A voice replied: "When one is a little less unhappy."

This lonely woman was perhaps a little less unhappy than before, since she wept. . . .

Such sorrow was not uncommon. We have seen mothers go by who had lost their children through sickness, fatigue, change of life. Some of them were lost in the turmoil of departure; others died in the train.

A young Lorraine girl told me how her sister, who had two children, went out to get them some milk, and found her house blazing when she returned. The two children were shrieking at the

windows. She tried to rush in to them, but the soldiers held her back to save her life. The children were burnt. Nothing more was heard of her: perhaps she became insane.

Many old countrywomen who had never left their village, and had watched it bombarded and burnt, regarded having to leave it as the cruellest blow of all. "Even though all our place had been burned down, one was glad to be there," said one of them.

During one of these journeys I lent an arm to an emaciated, depressed-looking woman who walked with difficulty. I said to her: "You have been through a lot."

Then she gave me an almost brutal nudge, and, with a scared look, whispered: "Can't you be quiet? Didn't you see the gendarme, quite close to us? I believe he heard you."

Poor, bewildered, mind-sick woman! She did not yet understand that she was in Switzerland.

These unhappy creatures were amazed at being shown attention and care, nor could they find words in which to express their gratitude. "Oh, sir, tell me your name, that I may mention it in my prayers," said a refugee to one of the stewards.

An old woman from the south of France,

suffering from inflammation of the throat, could not believe that she would not be allowed to pay for the oranges given her. "Come, now, you don't mean to tell me that you do all this for nothing." And how they were rejoiced by distributions of sweets and pastilles! "Oh, madame, I can't say what it is to have something nice in one's mouth! What a difference it makes to us!"

An old Alsatian woman, who spoke very broken French and had been given a tricolour by a steward, asked him: "Am I to keep this as a souvenir?" When he assured her that this was so, she began to cry, and, losing her head a little in her emotion, she dried her eyes with the flag!

A woman sat unmoved in a corner, nursing her child. She had followed the procession mechanically, and was so exhausted that she no longer even noticed that her baby was dirty, and that the rags in which it was swathed were damp. A committee-man took it gently from her arms, and, after reassuring her, took it away and handed it over to the ladies in the nursery. A Samaritan brought back the baby—a clean, rosy baby in new linen, a spotless flannel dress, a soft woollen sweater, socks, and white slippers. Its smiling, contented face, and the tender care given to dressing it made it like one of those pet children

whom one presents at dessert to its delighted family. The girl went from group to group asking, "Whose baby is this?" But there was no reply. Then an assistant took the child and, standing on a table, displayed him to the crowd of refugees, shouting in a voice which was heard above the hubbub of talk: "Whose baby is this?"

Presently a low, trembling voice answered, "Mine, sir." Its mother had recognized it only after a moment's hesitation, for she had not seen her little one look so bonny for many a week past. She took it and pressed it to her, unable to say a word for tears.

One of my friends took her needle and thread every morning to sew buttons on to the worn clothes. One day she put some buttons on the waistcoat of a respectable and very dignified old man. The seams of his cloak had given way, and were held together somehow with pins. She took it upon herself to sew them up again, while he watched her, quite astounded. No doubt, the woman's action reminded him of his destitution, recalled, perhaps, other faces that once bent over his clothes. An indescribable emotion seized him, and when she put her face close to his to speak to him—he was a little deaf—he suddenly imprinted a good smacking kiss on her cheek, and looked at her as if he had just done the most natural thing

in the world—one as natural as allowing her to mend his cloak.

Feeling all the distress expressed in the kiss, she could scarcely restrain her tears, and it seemed to her, as she looked at the pitiable crowd which thronged the thick atmosphere of the room, that all the sadness, all the gratitude, of these poor creatures escaped and came to her in that kiss.

An old man was entering Switzerland as a prisoner of war for the second time: he had been interned in 1870 with Bourbaki's army. So he asked to be allowed to visit the place of his first internment. They took him to the Church of the Fusterie. While passing over the Mont Blanc bridge, our guest of former days recognized Rousseau's Island, and remembered that he had been taken there for walks. He gazed for a long time at the church, went round it, and kept on comparing it with his old recollections of it. He remembered that it had partitions, and said that he was greatly interested to see it again. Then he was silent for a moment, thinking, perhaps, of the years that had elapsed between the two journeys. Though not astonished to see the same happenings repeated at long intervals, as in inexorable rhythm, he marvelled that fate had brought him back to this town. Suddenly he found his tongue, and could not express his thanks sufficiently.

There comes before my eyes again an octogenarian couple, an old man and an old woman, bent and shrivelled, both of them. They walked with difficulty, holding each other's arms, at the rear of the procession. The frightened glances which they cast round them, and their look of being more out of their element than the rest, told plainly enough that this was their first journey—and what a journey! Their clothes were in rags. When the procession reached its destination and the roll had been called over, and we wished to take the pair to the clothing departments for men and women respectively, they protested with one voice: "Oh! please don't separate us!" She, especially, was most unwilling, and besought the commissioner: "Good sir, you mustn't separate us; we are so old. Then, you know, what with this wicked war, who can say that we have much longer to live? Also, you must know that we have been married fifty years to-day." At the word they looked at one another and smiled, despite their distress.

Their golden wedding! Half a century of love, of life together, of sorrows shared—even this last sorrow—the loss of their home and exile. . . . And to-day was their anniversary!

However, the old man, who was the more worldly-wise of the two, reassured his wife and half-persuaded her. She allowed herself to be taken

to the clothing depot. But we could see by her reluctance that her doubts remained. Had not their chief care during these long terrible weeks been to keep together?

The old man was the first to regain the large hall. In his black frockcoat, with a flower in the buttonhole, he was hardly recognizable. He had combed his grey locks and washed his hands, and had assumed the respectable look and behaviour proper to a man who celebrates his fiftieth wedding-day. He stood close to the door, waiting for his wife; but when she came in he did not recognise her any more than she recognized him. Almost new clothes—a jacket and skirt—had changed her. She had the clear face of a well-preserved old woman. She approached him timidly, a little awkwardly, her anxious eyes filled with tears. She saw her husband, but still was looking for him.

They come face to face. Their eyes meet. They discover one another. And in a moment they are in one another's arms, weeping together, but this time joy is mingled with their tears.

* * * * *

The refugees were given their meal during the hour's wait—often at the public kitchens, when the times of arrival made this convenient. They took their seats at long tables decorated with flowers, and smiled once more when they saw

the bouquets which were given to the women on leaving. We never ran short of flowers. Owners of gardens sent them in; everyone who had a border robbed it; and the florists and poor market flower-sellers brought their contributions.

The stewards and ladies helped wait at table, forming a chain and passing the plates along. These kind waiters included gendarmes and eminent professors. Kindly stewards might be seen engaged in persuading frightened or tired children to eat their neglected food.

Everyone who witnessed all this misery was so eager to help and so deeply touched that differences of education and circumstances were wiped away in a wonderful manner. In the presence of the victims all had the same thought the same impulse—not one of the smallest boons conferred on us by these poor travellers.

After the meal they were led back to the school. The police, stewards, and ladies took charge of the children, who were carried, if it rained, so that they might not get their feet wet. And up went all the umbrellas—a rare collection of umbrellas which had been sent to the station anonymously for the benefit of the refugees.

One evening in particular comes back to me. A group of grave sad-faced men at the end of one of the tables were most polite in their thanks whenever anyone handed them a plate. All

wore shabby and dirty clothes, but two or three of them had unusually refined features and seemed to be men of education. After dessert coffee was served and then came the signal for departure. The mothers collected their children and stowed away bottles of warm milk in their handbags, while children's toys and old men's sticks were recovered. Suddenly, amid all this hubbub, silence fell—no one knew how—and one of the men at the top of the table was seen to rise. For a moment he stood there, bolt upright, motionless, dumb, with his eyes closed. I recollect that he had a long grey beard, and that in the strong light his face wore a kind of solemn beauty that I had not noticed just before. Suddenly he began to speak in a somewhat hesitating and broken voice, which grew stronger as he proceeded. He addressed all the silent men and women around him:

“My friends, we must not leave Switzerland without giving her our blessing and our thanks. All my life through I shall remember this evening's meal, served by kindly hands. It is months and months since anyone treated us like this. Over yonder we were, it is true, given food; but in what a manner! Here they have waited upon us lovingly. We shall never forget it. I thank you.” And the others repeated after him: “Thank you, thank you.”

All the refugees surrounded us, and there were

hand-clasps charged with feeling—the hearty grips by which those who cannot speak impart the superabundance of their emotions. And we thought that it was our country to which they gave their thanks in this fashion.

In the morning we escorted them to the tramway, where a dense crowd was always waiting on the pavement to watch them depart. When all had taken their places, the little children had been handed to their mothers, and the oldest and most infirm people had been made as comfortable as might be on the seats, the four-coach tram rolled off, and everyone stood at the windows to wave us a last good-bye. As we replied to these friendly signals we experienced a curious feeling of loss. We shall never see those faces again; they will be scattered far and wide to the four corners of France. The convoy, a single living thing, as it were, with a thousand sorrows, will exist no longer. Just for one day it has been granted us to share the life of these men and women, to enter into their grief and their difficulties. These are no commonplace meetings. At such times all superficiality and convention is swept aside; hearts meet and open and read one another, disclosing themselves without words and becoming linked together by all that is deepest and saddest and most real in them. One

becomes attached to these friends of an hour who have unbosomed themselves so unreservedly. Their faces will return and visit us. And we shall ask ourselves, "Where are they? Are they at last able to forget things a little? Have they at last found peace?"

There were convoys even more pitiable than those already described—convoys of incurables who had been evacuated from their hospitals in a body. The strongest among them dragged themselves along with the help of their sticks. Others were driven in motor-cars. The helpless were on stretchers. Oh! that long procession of stretchers right down the road! There were poor distraught women who kept repeating meaningless words and actions, unceasingly vexed by the same distresses. In most cases this mental disorder was due to terror.

There were whole convoys of very young boys and old men, returning from concentration camps. They had been captured early in the war and separated from their families. Amid the confusion of the sudden parting they had had to leave filled with amazement and grief; that was all they knew about it. Among them were mayors and priests, seized as hostages. Their emaciated faces told what they had suffered. . . . They were covered with vermin.

"Don't come near me, ma'am, said a young boy considerably; "I am alive with lice." The

sorry-looking young people cheered up when cigarettes were handed round. They crowded about us. Everyone wanted to tell his story. They drew from their pockets knives cleverly made out of sharpened hoop-iron, and spoons shaped out of wood. We did not need their words to make us realize their sufferings; it was quite sufficient to look at their pinched faces.

These lads of fourteen or fifteen had been without news of their parents for months. The old men had been torn from their wives, who were still "over yonder." Discharged soldiers suddenly burst into tears when talking of their little ones. And how could one console them? Their country had been ravaged, their possessions destroyed—they could put up with all that. But to get no news. . . !

"I have seven children, and my wife was about to give birth to an eighth. And I hear nothing. . . ."

"I have five children . . . the youngest is two years old." Voices break; pale, bearded faces contract and turn away. These men's quiet tears are more moving than all the women's sobs.

"Ah! those who are all together don't suffer as we do!"

The parents of the soldier whose fate is hidden from them know the meaning of alternating fear and hope. To-morrow, perhaps, they will hear

from the son they have given to their country. If he has laid down his life, the dread sacrifice will be made less hard by the knowledge that he died in the performance of his duty. But to tremble for wife and little ones still in the ravaged country, and to be certain that every attempt to get at them is doomed before it begins—"Ah!"*

I remember the crushed bearing and difficult tears of an old man whose wife had remained behind.

"We had never parted," said he, "and now . . ." His voice broke, and he fell silent. But the restrained sorrow of that old, rugged-faced man!

A thin, yellow-faced hunchback tells me that he is done for and is going to Evian to die there. The conditions in camp had aggravated a liver trouble. He had fallen into consumption. His wife and daughter had stayed in the Meuse. He shows me a letter which his wife managed to get to him in Germany—well written, very tender, telling him to be sure and take care of himself—"You are the dearest thing we have." He looks at the sheet with a smile of distress and tears in his eyes. "I shall not see them again. I know I am done for; I know something about medicine." After a spell of silence he continues: "I

* A few weeks ago it became possible to send short letters into the invaded parts of France.

was happy enough, as happy as M. Poincaré himself, before the war. My wife is thirty-five. . . . We have a fine child who grows like a chestnut-tree. Yes! we were happy. I was always a family man."

Then, as if unable to escape the grief of his tragedy, he tells his story: "And we could have escaped. We had actually started off with the cattle. Then we thought, 'The Germans will not come,' and went back home. What a trifle things hang on!"

Most of the men were absolutely destitute, literally not owning a halfpenny, though they have German papers given them in exchange for a whole life's savings. There was one young man, I remember, who had a dignified carriage and a face that commanded respect—the Mayor of his village and formerly in easy circumstances. My friend was mending his clothes, and he said to her suddenly and somewhat shamefacedly: "Madam, since you are so kind, could you give me four sous . . . to buy some tobacco?"

On some occasions the women of a village are taken one way and the men in another; and the parties go into the unknown, these to the right, those to the left. A refugee who had been separated from her husband in this fashion sketched in a few words a picture of these departures:

"One day we were told that we were moving. The men and boys were collected in the square, all the women outside the village. Everybody was crying out and weeping. The men went off through the fields, we by the road. We never saw one another again, and nothing more has been heard of them."

Then the children who had to be taken along, the various indispensable things that had to be carried, the endless tramps along the road to the railway-station through all that despair . . . !

Some of the evacuated folk have not yet ended their travels. While their brothers in misfortune prepared to depart, the hospital car came for these. Samaritans transferred them in it to the infirmary, where they were tended after their arrival. And that was their last journey.

At the hospital care and love embraced them. The doctor and nurses who took them in at the Rue de Berne proved themselves friends till the end of their sojourn; and when their last hour came they did not feel themselves forsaken. If they have not been able to reach their native soil, they have at least been buried in a friendly land. They have well earned their rest.

From March, 1915, the work of repatriating the refugees was handed over to the military authorities. Territorial soldiers took the place of the gendarmes and civil police. It was they

who gave an arm to the old men, took charge of bundles, and carried the children. Nothing was so pretty as to see these fair-haired little things from the Ardennes and the North sleeping on the shoulder of a strapping, grizzled infantryman. These fathers of families, to check the tears of the weary, bewildered babies, made use again of the pet names by which once on a time they called their own little ones. The children were reassured, and smiled at them and stroked the moustachioed cheeks of the fatherly soldiers who knew just how to carry them.

After that the convoys of five hundred evacuated people arrived regularly twice a day at fixed hours. After roll-call in the Rue de Berne, they were fitted out, the poorest helped, and the sick attended to; they then continued their journey almost at once, the tram taking them to Annemasse. Many of us were deeply grieved that their large numbers made it impossible to comfort each one of these unfortunates properly. They were so many, and the time so short. We had to work at top speed, and to content ourselves with attending to the pressing needs of the sick and the children.

So the populace made itself responsible for completing the welcome which circumstances rendered too summary to satisfy our sympathetic hearts. From the moment our guests set foot

in Geneva the populace spread round them that atmosphere of sympathy and kindness which was so comforting, and made them stand erect and smile and shed the tears that ease sorrow.

We knew to a moment when they would arrive—there was no more unpunctuality—and every day, in the morning and afternoon, the crowd collected round the station, watching silently, with hands full of gifts. The whole population of Geneva was there—magistrates, workmen, professors, clergymen, clerks; all the dwellers in the poorer quarters of the city through which these sad processions passed every day, who were never weary of giving; many women, leading their children. The children brought boxes of chocolate, flowers, and toys; their parents, clothes, bags, valises, small change. Poor women carried bags crammed with provisions.

We waited patiently, while the soldiers walked up and down, pressing back the crowd to keep a passage clear. Everybody obeyed them. Motor-cars lent to the Samaritans by their owners came up one behind the other and formed a line along the platform.

The train had come in. The cars drove off almost immediately with the sick cases. From the station steps one saw the first of the refugees appear, surrounded by soldiers. They descended

slowly, and passed by. Others followed them. Then the dense crowd to right and left moved towards them as one man with hands outstretched. Nothing could be more beautiful than this pressing forward to meet the victims of misfortune. They now no longer saw a strange town, but only two living walls of faces turned to them, hands which gave to them. It was a sort of spontaneous vote of welcome, a wordless protest against the ills they were enduring, a unanimous opening of hearts. The refugees felt the love given them as they passed, and tears of thankfulness for deliverance replied to tears of pity.

The crowd surrounded the procession and escorted it to the school. Sometimes conversations were started. The poor things would stop a moment to express their thanks, a look of delighted surprise suddenly transfiguring their tired faces.

The soldiers, obedient to their orders, kept pressing back the crowd, but in kindly fashion permitted this touching intercourse and helped travellers whose hands were full. One felt that at heart they approved what the crowd was doing.

Passers-by on the pavement in front of the gateway watched the gates swing to; and when, two hours later, the refugees were brought out again to be taken to the train, they found the

crowd still there, as if keeping a precious appointment.

It was the same thing every day.

* * * * *

In January, 1916, the last regular convoys coming direct from invaded France passed through—the last up to the present.* They were made up of large, poor families, evacuated by order.

Here, too, was misery indescribable. Day after day, late in the afternoon, one saw the refugees descending the large stairway leading to the Rue de Lausanne. Crushed and sad were these groups that swayed towards us—bare-headed women, clusters of children clinging to their skirts, wrapped-up infants, old country-women in beehive bonnets with a thin shawl cross-wise on their breasts, aged couples holding each other's arms, peasants in smocks or corduroy coats, with fine, rugged faces fringed with white hair. Their movements are slow and stiff, and one feels that these old bodies are crippled and crushed by an immense weariness. Many women are weeping, and the attendant crowd strives to comfort them as they go along. "Cheer up! Dry your tears! Cheer up!"

What a clattering this flock makes as they drag their clogs over the cobblestones! What meek-

* A few belated convoys went through in the spring.

ness—the docile carriage of frightened people! An old man who stepped off the pavement stepped back again hurriedly. Another, so bent that he seemed to be looking for something on the ground, tries to quicken his speed.

Snatches of conversations are exchanged between the refugees and the crowd.

“Yes! Everything has been destroyed down our way.”

“Near Craonne. . . . Ah! the guns. . . . We took to our cellars.”

“At our place eighty civilians were killed by shells.”

“I was going into the fields to work under fire with my little girl when a bullet struck my sabot. One paid no attention to that sort of thing.”

“A shell burst in our house. . . . The schoolmistress was indoors, and had a foot blown off. We never found the foot in the room.”

Three children are travelling by themselves. Their mother had been shot. A woman has seven little ones with her, two of them adopted —“What else could one do? One couldn’t leave them behind, eh?”

Think of the rainy days when the procession clattered along in the water; of the harassed women; of the children falling down in the mud and being picked up plastered from head to foot; of the coughings; of the childish voices; of the

impassive and dumb old folk; of the passers-by who burst into tears !

Some French refugees at Geneva and repatriated people scattered in Savoy used to come to the station in hopes of hearing, by some lucky chance, news of their folk who had stayed "yonder." Now and then one saw a woman suddenly leave the crowd and fall into the arms of a refugee: friends and relations were restored thus to one another.

During the whole of last spring a mother came to every convoy to look for her two children. One summer evening they passed through. They recognized her, just as the tram was starting for Annemasse, and flung themselves out of the car and fell in her arms with cries of "Mother !"

A charwoman in a blue apron asked permission to enter the school in the Rue de Berne. "My godson is in the convoy. I want to see him. He is fifty-four, is my godson. Now I shall have to find someone else to send my parcels to."

Old helpless bodies are taken from the motor-car—women who have to be carried. One sees groups swallowed up in the half-darkness, attendants carrying poor creatures of whom only the bent back and a wisp of grey hair is visible. One of them said: "It would have been better to die sooner. . . ."

Human wrecks whose only possession is now

a weakly body, and pains of all sorts now aggravated beyond remedy. The other invalids wait their turn in the car, not moving from the seat in which they were placed, saying nothing and showing no surprise.

I can still see one of these listless old men who suddenly seemed to have a flash of consciousness as the car moved off. He took off his hat and made shift to smile. The wind blew his grey locks about his pale face; and until the car disappeared at the end of the street we saw this face turned to us and brightened by a thought that had not been put in words.

I see, too, a grandmother carrying a two-year-old grandson and driving four other children before her—small boys of four to eight, whom one would never have taken for brothers, as they were almost of a height and clad in the queerest of clothes. She had a thin, weather-beaten, red face, framed in an old crape bonnet with strings tied round her wrinkled cheeks. As she rearranged the baby which she carried on her back, she said: "They are heavy."

She walked straight ahead, bending forward under her burden, looking neither to right nor left. At times she uttered a few words in a low voice, and one had to lean close to her to catch them.

"I have reared eleven of them. . . ."

"*They* have kept my daughter yonder."

She moved off into the unknown, with set face, deaf, apparently, to what was said, her eyes fixed on the distance—on the past, maybe—a solitary figure, with five grandchildren to provide for, who would have to begin again in her old age the work of her long life. Yet only these words of resignation escaped her—"They are heavy."

These were pictures of human distress which we shall never forget—haunted by the misery springing from this war. This generation of ours which has witnessed sights like these will feel its utmost efforts inadequate to repair the damage—to build things up again.

Nothing is more terrible than the agitation of these uprooted octogenarians, who in many cases are travelling without a single friend to look after them. They have been torn from their people, from the home in which their life passed quietly. Take, for example, the woman of eighty-eight whom we saw in a procession, whose only baggage and companion was a little dog which she carried wrapped up in linen. She showed it to us, with the words: "It cost me a lot of trouble to save her; I had to hide her for three months. Yes! I lived in a little house. It was taken from me." A woman by her side corroborated her: "She comes from our village. They took everything from her; but don't worry, I'm looking after her."

We then asked the old dame: "What have you got in the way of money? They will change it for you." "None; I've got none." Then, pointing to the little dog, "That's all that's left to me."

She was given a basket for her dog, and a collar was put on its neck. We were quite overcome by the childish joy and thankfulness shown by the poor old thing.

Another convoy contained a solitary old woman of eighty-five. She was a peasant, decently dressed in black skirt and bonnet; slim and exhausted looking, with a refined face that might have been shaped out of yellow wax. No doubt she could neither read nor write and had never left her village. She, too, said: "They took everything from me. I have nothing left."

She did not know what had become of her daughter, whom she had lost. She had been obliged to go one way and her daughter another. Will they ever meet again? Nor has she any news of her grandson, who has been fighting since the war broke out.

She says: "I have seen and suffered everything."

They offered her clothes. Would she like some linen, or a cloak, or some shoes? But she shook her head slowly, and said to the lady who asked her: "Why dost thou take so much trouble over

my poor body? It is finished." This Biblical use of the word "thou" had something touching about it, and brought tears to the eyes of my friend, who insisted gently: "Please tell me what we can do for you." The old woman answered: "Nothing. I have lost everything. Give me a kiss."

My friend will never forget the kiss and the warm hug of that mystical peasant woman, who suddenly exclaimed: "We shall meet again up above."

Then, in spite of her protests, she was given a new set of clothes. As each article was handed her she objected with gentle obstinacy: "It is a waste of good things. My body is done with, thou seest."

When the time came to rejoin the convoy as it went off, and we went to find the old woman and put her in the car, she repeated as she parted from those who had welcomed her: "But we shall meet again above."

Her look of happy certainty transfigured her. She who had "seen and suffered everything," for whom the things of this world were henceforth of no account, left behind her feelings of admiration. She was not merely resigned; the certainty that sorrow had brought her made her rich with riches that no human chance would ever be able to diminish.

Thus, day after day, week after week, month after month, the procession of victims passed through. Those who saw it go by will ever have this vision of despair fresh before their eyes. Never was seen such concentrated distress, such a waste of happiness and health and life. The convoys of poor human wreckage showed us continually the cruellest side of war, unillumined by the heroism of those who sacrifice themselves and go to their death singing, as the bugle sounds the charge and the colours wave, and military pomp and circumstance does something to hide the dreadful slaughter under a cloak of glory.

The heroism of these human flocks may be called resignation. They are crushed by restrictions, accustomed to annoyances, obedient to orders, dumb and sorrowful. They know well enough that their misfortunes do not aid their country. They have no share in the greatness which springs from willing self-sacrifice. It is not their privilege to raise their heads and smile at their glorious sufferings.

Yet—another kind of greatness comes from these sufferings, borne apparently in vain. They love more than ever the soil from which they were driven, the country for whose sake they lost their all. These French folk have only their French birth left to them, but that will henceforward take the place of everything.

Like the old woman who was able to weep again when she kissed the tricolour, they felt a quiver of joy in the presence of their flag which other French people will never know. They have passed through invasion, terror, bombardment, flames; they have seen their houses burnt to the ground, and their brothers slain. They will remember; they will be the first to utter, every moment of their lives, "Let us stand together. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder, let us quit ourselves like men, so that there shall be no more war."

They never said these words: yet we heard them, and we took them to heart. They will remain after their speakers have passed away.

HISTORICAL NOTE

THE FIRST STEPS

WHEN war broke out, the belligerent countries generally informed enemy subjects that they must leave their territory without delay. All the people in question were deeply perturbed; and many of them, for one reason or other (the overcrowding of trains, the difficulty of obtaining permits, etc.) could not cross the frontiers, and so were interned.

The first class of civilians repatriated by Switzerland was made up of people like these. There were but few convoys of French civilians. Soon they were succeeded by a second class of interned people, inhabitants of the invaded provinces, who were sent to Germany and immured there, and, after a longer or shorter stay in concentration camps and fortresses, were sent back to France.

Then came the third class—evacuated people who were captured in their villages and sent back to France via Switzerland.

The above pages are concerned especially with repatriated folk of the last two classes.

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At the beginning of the war the Swiss Confederation offered its services to France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, to help the repatriation of interned civilians* (at that time the question of dealing with evacuated persons had not arisen). On September 22, 1914, the Federal Council decided to institute a department for the repatriation of interned civilians, with headquarters at Berne. The same day it issued a regulation, the first article of which is as follows:

"FIRST ARTICLE.—A department for repatriating interned civilians has been formed under the direction of the Political Department. This department, with headquarters at Berne, is responsible for returning to their country of origin women, children, sick persons, the aged, and other civilians not fit to bear arms, who have been detained by order of an administrative or military authority of one of the States engaged in the present war."†

Negotiations with the belligerent States were difficult. The interned civilians included a number of men of military age, and a distinction had therefore to be made. An agreement was

* Ernest Röthlisberger, *Die schweizerische Hilfsaktion für die Opfer des Krieges und das Heimschaffungswerk*, Separatabdruck aus dem Politischen Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, Berne, 1915.

† Feuille Fédérale, 1914, iv., p. 127. Professor Ernest Röthlisberger was appointed president of it.

first come to on the basis of returning to their respective countries all women and children, and afterwards men under eighteen and over fifty years of age.

The cost of transport, said the agreement, "will be borne by the respective States of origin of the persons repatriated. In return, public generosity will be expected to bear the cost of entertaining and housing the interned during their passage through Switzerland." This State appeal to individuals is quite in accordance with Swiss traditions, and it may be said that in Schaffhausen, as in Zurich, Geneva, Rorschach, and elsewhere, in every Swiss town, "public generosity" did not fail to do its duty.

The Scheme in Operation.

The first French interned entered Switzerland on October 22, 1914, and on November 2 the first Austro-Germans passed through. The work had begun.

On December 21, 1914, the Federal Political Department, acting on representations that had been made by the countries interested, announced that the repatriation of interned civilians in convoys must be considered at an end. The Supply Commissions were to cease working on December 24.

In spite of this announcement, transportation did not stop. On January 5, 1915, fresh convoys were passing through Switzerland. They were composed almost entirely of French exiles from departments occupied by the German armies. Between February 4 and 14, 1915, Schaffhausen alone received more than 4,000 of them. Things were being speeded up, as it was understood internationally that this extension of time would terminate on February 28. Every day a body of about 450 repatriated people left Schaffhausen for Geneva. By March 1, 20,475 persons detained in enemy country had crossed Switzerland in 186 convoys (the largest numbered 739) and returned to their respective countries.

However, at the beginning of March, 1915, the Berne Bureau and the forwarding committees were dissolved, and the Confederation put the transportation of evacuated people under military control. Handling the convoys was transferred to the Federal Territorial Service, and from March 6 onwards these unfortunates continued to pass through under the sympathetic care and friendly eye of the Landsturm* and of committees appointed for the purpose. Even to-day convoys still pass through.

General Organization.—It is evident that trans-

* The soldiers of the Landsturm are practically the counterpart of the French Territorial troops.

port of this kind required a very complicated and in some ways delicate organization—all the more so because the travellers to be conveyed had so often suffered indescribable misery, both moral and physical. Provision had to be made not only for railway facilities, but for food and lodging during the journey. Furthermore, the trains conveyed many sick persons; some of them actually dying, and it was needful to be prepared for all contingencies.

It was obvious, however, that everything could not be foreseen, and that as needs developed they had to be satisfied. For this reason round every departmental commission there developed subsidiary organizations which assisted the fugitives in many different ways.*

At Geneva, where many trains arrived in the evening, the executive of the Town Council offered large premises in several of the primary schools for the accommodation of the refugees. Every day a large number of volunteer stewards—ladies and gentlemen—representatives of re-

* Such as helping to find lost persons; establishing touch with relations and friends in Swiss towns; distributing post-cards and flowers; lending umbrellas, etc. Many of the kind stewards acted as correspondents for poor illiterate folk, and kept the restaurant tables decorated with vases and bouquets of flowers, etc. We know that these small cares and attentions were greatly appreciated by those on whom they were conferred.

cognized bodies, Samaritans, rescue workers, police, employés of the Federal railways and of the public buildings wherein the evacuated and interned people were lodged, restaurant staffs (especially those of the public kitchens), manned the breach, and it will generally be acknowledged that they played their part nobly.

The convoys might arrive in the small hours of the morning, but a sufficient staff was always there to receive them. And sometimes the weather was bad enough! In other towns, though the nature of the working "commissions" varied in details, there was the same universal good-will and, speaking generally, the same organization.

Forwarding Committees.—The Political Department appointed Federal Commissioners from each town at the termini of the railways traversed by the convoys. Their duties were to direct the reception, feeding, and forwarding of evacuated and interned civilians.

As soon as the convoys were put under military control, the sectional committees were dissolved, and the various committees thenceforward worked in harmony with the military authorities. Zurich, which previously had played but a minor part, now became a chief centre. Its Committee widened its scope considerably, and its president*

* Pastor Cuendet.

had a very complete organization ready for work.*

The forwarding commissioners and committee presidents were backed up by unlimited devotion. We must refrain from mentioning names—we should have to give them all—as anonymity is the rule in work of this sort.

Transport.—French interned and evacuated civilians entered Switzerland at Schaffhausen, and left our country at Geneva, whence the tramways took them to Annemasse, the town nearest to our frontier.

Interned German and Austro-Hungarian civilians arrived at Geneva, and from there were sent—the first to Singen in the Grand Duchy of Baden, via Winterthur; the last to Bregenz (Vorarlberg) via Rorschach.

Supply Services.—Supplying these many passengers (they numbered up to 1,350 in a single day) was evidently the heaviest task that had to be faced. All the travellers had to be fed; also medically cared for, cleaned, washed, and, in almost every case, clothed. Many of them had been seized in the street and carried off without a chance of going home and getting a few clothes or some underlinen. In the winter we saw

* *Documents sur la guerre Européenne. Le passage des rapatriés à Zurich, Bâle, 1915.* An album of 56 pages.

women arrive who had been captured during the summer, and still wore summer clothes. They had to be provided with everything. Great clothing depots were established at each halting-place, and in this connection "public generosity"—to use the words of the Federal Council—perhaps showed the greatest activity. Huge quantities of clothing, shoes, and hats for men, women, and children were accumulated at all the centres. At Schaffhausen, a town right on the frontier in German Switzerland, the evacuated had so cordial a reception that the least that can be said of it is that it was simply brotherly. In a single day *six hundred* packages were handed in.* These figures give some idea of what was done in each of the stopping-places; and it must be noted that this number includes only parcels sent to the commissioners. The evacuated received many additional presents in the street as they went along. At a later date, when the service had been militarized, France forwarded many clothes to the stopping-places.

As for feeding, this was provided at each town

* The town of Schaffhausen has only about 15,000 inhabitants, of whom 4,000 are foreigners—Germans for the most part. At Geneva parcels from all parts of the canton were delivered in great numbers. Their total cannot be given, as their contents flowed forth daily, like a stream.

according to its capacity. At Geneva it was managed chiefly by the model etablissement of the public kitchens and at a temperance restaurant in Montbrillant.*

At Schaffhausen, where there is no great system of public kitchens, the evacuated were distributed in detachments among various restaurants and hotels in the town. At Zurich, refreshments were provided in the station itself. At Geneva sleeping accommodation was provided by army mattresses loaned by the State and placed in school premises—one of the most favoured having bedsteads; while at Schaffhausen the Federal Commissioners had made arrangements with several hotels, and the evacuated, when they arrived from Germany, found the comforts of a good bath and a good bed awaiting them.

It was in some cases very difficult to provide accommodation and supplies. It often happened that trains came in behind time, or that they contained many more passengers than were expected, and means must be found of catering for all. Sometimes, again, the trains came one on the heels of the other, and were not signalled till the very last moment; so that to be ready

* For supply services at Geneva, see *Le passage des internés civils à Geneve*, by Lucie Achard. Extract from the 49th Report of the Central Committee of the Charitable Board, Geneva, 1915.

for anything that might happen the commissioners had to be permanently on duty from the early hours of the morning till the last thing at night.

Here is a single example, taken from the official report of the Schaffhausen Committee, of the difficulties encountered:

On January 23, 1915, two trains, containing 578 and 739 internees respectively, entered the station almost at the same moment. At 9 p.m. on the previous day we had been warned to expect them. The quarters assigned to the travellers had to be kept warm all night, and a sufficiency of food, besides milk for the children, to be provided. The many articles of baggage had to be forwarded each to its proper destination.*

At 10.55 the first train started for Geneva. The second division remained at Schaffhausen all day. The people were a particularly miserable-looking lot, and the Schaffhausen folk came in thousands to help the poor unfortunates as they passed along, or in their hotels. The newspaper report ends on this sober note: "It was one of the hardest days we had had, and we can say with satisfaction that everyone did his duty conscientiously and devotedly."

* A single train carried upwards of 16,000 pounds of baggage in large articles. The cost of supplies and baggage handling on that day rose to 3,789.05 francs.

In the street commissioners of both sexes were engaged in carrying children and parcels—though sometimes the owners would not on any account part with them at the station*—and the populace generally often lent a helping hand. In the restaurant they assisted the regular staff, which was naturally overwhelmed, and one saw “chains” of servants, containing representatives of all classes—workmen, professors, police, and magistrates, brought closer together by kindly action than by any amount of patriotic talk—handing bowls of soup, plates of meat, dessert, and cups of coffee along the line.

At every stopping-place throughout the journey the repatriated travellers received clothes, dainties, toys for the children, and so on.

Money-Changing.—At the termini—Schaffhausen and Geneva—any travellers who so wished could exchange foreign money in their possession at the most favourable rates.

Postal Arrangements.—The commissioners distributed post-cards, in most cases franked—at Schaffhausen, at the beginning, all were franked. At Geneva a kind of post office was established in the premises allotted for the accommodation of the evacuated, and a considerable number

* The baggage was in some cases of a most extraordinary kind, and such as could only be explained by the suffering like their possessors.

of letters and telegrams were handled in them.

Correspondence.—The repatriation offices of the divisional commissioners received letters addressed to the refugees. At Geneva the names of addressees were written up on notice-boards to attract the attention of people as they arrived. The letters were arranged in alphabetical order, and so could be delivered to people as they went past.

The Berne Repatriation Bureau received and forwarded, thanks to the assistance of voluntary helpers, more than 52,878 postal parcels up to the beginning of March, when the convoys passed under military control.

Search for the Missing.—During their passage through Switzerland the travellers are informed of the Geneva Prisoners' Agency (International Red Cross) established to search for the missing. Also, the Geneva Bureau publishes lists of all the repatriated who have crossed Switzerland, giving their surnames, Christian names, age, and place of domicile in France.* These lists, drawn up till February 29, 1916, were sent by the Geneva Bureau to all the prisoners' camps in

* See the *Lists of Interned [or evacuated] French Civilians* drawn up under the care of M. Audéoud. Paris, Lyons, and Geneva. There are already eight of them and one supplement.

Germany, and interned Frenchmen in the camps were thus enabled to consult them and find out what persons of their locality had been repatriated.

Medical Attendance.—At all the halting-places people appointed to give the evacuated travellers medical attention were always in attendance—representatives of the Red Cross, Samaritans, male and female nurses, and so on. Doctors presided, and volunteer stretcher-bearers and motor-cars, kindly lent by their owners, were available for medical work and transported the worst cases.

At Schaffhausen a receiving infirmary of four wards, with beds, was established in the station; at Zurich the doctors visited patients in the carriages themselves; and at Geneva a completely equipped infirmary was directed by a doctor. It occupied the school buildings in Berne Street, and was of considerable service.

All the convoys included a number of sick. The serious cases were sent to the hospitals. From one detachment forty-five sick were despatched either to the infirmary or the hospital at Schaffhausen. But the medical service was most patronized at Geneva. It was supported by the Samaritan Society. Between October, 1914, and January, 1916, the doctor attached to the infirmary had to treat 8,951 cases, which

represent 8.23 per cent. of the 108,564 persons repatriated from the various belligerent countries.* Fifty-nine cases were taken to the Geneva hospitals.

Deaths.—Some deaths have unfortunately to be recorded: those of travellers who suddenly fell ill on the journey, of invalids who had been insufficiently cared for during their captivity and moving from place to place, and of exhausted old folk, etc. At Schaffhausen two died; at Zurich one young girl, aged twenty-two. On each occasion the body was followed to the cemetery by commissioners and inhabitants. Stones were set up on the graves of these poor victims. At Geneva sixteen deaths had to be registered.†

Statistics.—The many kinds of equipment needed at stopping-places necessarily involved considerable expense, which was defrayed by gifts. It is not possible to give exact figures of the expenditure up to the time of militarization, nor of the

* Dr. Jean Késér, *The Infirmary for Interned and Evacuated Civilians in the Rue de Berne, Geneva*: a pamphlet. Geneva, 1916. The following are some particulars of the cases treated: Digestive system, 1,935; circulatory system and blood disorders, 1,203; respiratory system, 1,198; bruises, wounds, abscesses, ulcers, 1,113; skin disorders, 948; nervous system, 857; eye troubles, 416; etc. These statistics have been kept up-to-date.

† Up to January 31, 1916.

sums paid out. Many of the last were made individually by members of the Committee, and did not appear in the common funds. However, some figures can be given. At Zurich the Committee collected, up to the end of December, 1915, the sum of 75,000 francs. It is equally impossible to learn the exact value of gifts in kind.* Basing our calculations on information given by the Committees at Zurich and Geneva (the first, be it noted, only began to act in March, 1915), we may say without fear of exaggeration that the clothing distributed at the various stopping-places represents alone a market value of about 800,000 to 1,000,000 francs.

Between October 24, 1914, and March 31, 1916, 523 convoys passed through Switzerland, and of these 148 were Austro-German. The 375 French convoys transported 97,753 persons, of whom 19,940 were men, 45,834 women, 10,584 children less than four years old, and 21,895 children from four to thirteen years of age.

* We refer only to gifts of clothing; others cannot possibly have a value set on them. In all towns through which the convoys passed, associations of kindly people collected many gifts for the repatriated. The same applies to other towns not traversed by the convoys. We must remember that when repatriation was entrusted to the Territorial organization (*i.e.*, in March, 1915) the French Government contributed largely to the re-equipment of the refugees.

The 148 Austro-German convoys transported 1,678 men, 9,557 women, 906 children less than four years old, and 1,545 children from four to thirteen years of age—13,686 persons in all.

In addition to the repatriated, we can affirm that Switzerland has restored to their respective countries, without distinction of nationality, some 111,439 persons.

These statistics end with March 31. Since then a few convoys have gone through, and at the time of writing we are notified of others.

EUGÈNE PITTARD.

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THE MILLENNIUM

A DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION

“Do the Scriptures teach that there
is to be a Millennium?”

AFFIRMATIVE BY

WM. E. BLACKSTONE

AUTHOR OF “JESUS IS COMING,” “SATAN, HIS
KINGDOM AND ITS OVERTHROW”

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***“But forget not this one thing,
beloved, that one day is with the
Lord as a thousand years, and a
thousand years as one day.”***

—2 Pet. 3:8.

***“And they lived and reigned
with Christ a thousand years.”***

—Rev. 20:4.

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THE MILLENNIUM

*"DO THE SCRIPTURES TEACH THAT THERE IS TO
BE A MILLENNIUM?"*

DEFINITIONS

At the outset of the discussion of this question it is well to state certain definitions upon which we are agreed. The term Millennium—Mille-annum—a thousand years—as used by both Jewish and Christian scholars, stands for the doctrine of an era of righteous government upon the earth to last a thousand years.

Jewish writers, throughout the Talmud, hold that this Millennium will be chiefly characterized by the deliverance of the Jews from all their enemies, recovery of Palestine and the literal reign of their Messiah in unequalled splendor and prosperity therein.

Pre-millennial Christians hold much in common with the Jews, but also that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Messiah, that He is to return to the earth and overthrow Satan, all ungodly governments and lawlessness; and establish a kingdom of righteousness, having the Church, with himself, as sovereign, Jerusalem as the Capital, regathered and converted Israel as the center, and all nations included, in a universal world-wide kingdom of righteous government.

Post-millennialists hold that the present preaching of the gospel will result in the conversion of the world and usher in a golden era of righteousness and a government of justice and peace, to last a thousand years; after which, the Lord will return for a general judgment and introduction of an eternal state.

The Scriptures mean the Holy Bible, as contained in the Old and New Testaments.

Our question asks whether these Scriptures teach that there is to be any such Millennium.

Affirming this, let us proceed with the discussion.

DOCTRINE OF THE MILLENNIUM

The doctrine of the Millennium* and the concomitant events and conditions, which it embraces, is the pole star of the human race. It materializes the hope, which is embodied, not only in Christian teaching, but in all the great religions of the world. The Chinese look for the return of Confucius; the Hindoos for the tenth reincarnation of Vishnu; the Mohammedans for the coming of the Mahdi, and Christians expectantly wait for the second coming of our Lord Jesus, according to His promise and the numerous prophetic utterances of Scripture.

The expectation of a golden age of just and righteous government is not only wide-spread, but it is also hoary with age. Its deepest root is securely fastened in the Edenic promise, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head.

It is interwoven with all the precious promises and prophetic descriptions of the overthrow of Satan and his followers, and culminates in the definite statement of Revelation that Satan shall be chained for a thousand years. Not one thing is more plainly stated in Scripture than this thousand years of the righteous reign of Jesus and His saints.

Opponents of this doctrine usually begin their arguments by the assertion that the doctrine of a Millennium is nowhere taught in Scripture except in the twentieth chapter of Revelation. The foolishness of such a statement is glaringly apparent, from the fact that the Jews had fully developed the doctrine, as the teaching of Old Testament Scripture, long before the book of Revelation or any portion of the New Testament was written.

The foregleams of the Millennium are in the book of

* Millennium (Latin) is the same as Chiliad (Greek) and both mean a thousand years.

Genesis and we shall see how their shining increases, in the pre-exile, exilic and post-exilic prophets of Israel.

It was the view most frequently expressed in the Talmud, "that the Messianic Kingdom would last for one thousand years," and this was commonly believed among the Jews.

Jesus and the Apostles have given great prominence, in the Scriptures, to this inspiring theme, and it is admitted on all sides that the pre-millennial coming of Christ and His reign with His saints upon the earth a thousand years, was the faith of the early church.

We must be content to select only a few of the many authorities upon this point.

Moshien says: "The prevailing opinion that Christ was to come and reign a thousand years among men before the final dissolution of the world, had met with *no opposition previous* to the time of Origen." (Vol. 1, p. 89.)

Giesler says: "In all the works of this period (the first two centuries) Millenarianism is so prominent that we can not hesitate to consider it as universal." (Church Hist., Vol. 1, p. 215.)

Bishop Newton says: "The doctrine of the Millennium (as held by Millenarians) *was generally believed in the first three and purest ages.*" (Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 527.)

Bishop Russell, though an anti-Millenarian, says: "Down to the beginning of the fourth century, *the belief was* universal and undisputed." (Discourse on the Millennium, p. 26.)

Gibbon, who is an unprejudiced witness, in his history of Rome (Vol. 1, p. 262), says: "The ancient and popular doctrine of the Millennium was carefully inculcated by a succession of Fathers, from Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, who conversed with the immediate disciples of the Apostles, down to Lactantius, who was the preceptor of the son of Constantine. It appears to have been the reigning sentiment of orthodox believers."

He also says: "As long as this error (as he calls it) was permitted to subsist in the Church, it was productive of the

most salutary effects on the faith and practice of Christians."

Could an historian give higher praise? Thank God for such an encomium on this blessed doctrine. Is it not an excellent antidote for the worldliness and indifference of the Church in these days?

Even Dr. Daniel Whitby,—father of modern post-millennialism,—in his "Treatise on Traditions," candidly acknowledges that "the doctrine of the Millennium passed among the best of Christians, for two hundred and fifty years, for a tradition apostolical, and as such is delivered by many fathers of the second and third centuries, who speak of it as a tradition of our Lord and His Apostles, and of all the ancients who lived before them."

Lest anyone should lose the full force of these quotations, it may be proper to state, that this "ANCIENT AND POPULAR DOCTRINE OF THE MILLENNIUM," as Gibbon styles it, was the belief in the pre-millennial coming of Christ and His reign on the earth for a thousand years. It was commonly called Chiliasm, from the Greek word Chiliad, meaning one thousand. On such incontrovertible evidence do we affirm the universal belief of the early Church, in the doctrine of the Millennium. It would be profitable to trace its history down through the ages, and see how it shines forth in every great awakening of the Church. Melancthon and Charles Wesley were Millennialists. So were the great missionaries, Ben Ezra, Joseph Wolf, James McGreggor, Bertram, L. D. Manfield, Gonsalves, Dr. Kalley, Hewitson and Bishop Heber, who gave us that grand hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." It was the hope that energized Gutzlaff, the opener of China, and Bettelheim, the opener of Japan; and that inspired the noble Duff and McCheyne, Lowrie, Rankin and Lowenthal, Guinness, Spurgeon and Hudson Taylor, Moody, Whittle, Bliss and an army of modern evangelists.

It numbers Volek, Bengel, Delitzsch, Dean Alford, Jameison, Faussett and many other commentators of renown as its advocates and defenders. We rejoice to join this holy

company of apostles, fathers, martyrs and devout servants of God, in defense of the faith once delivered unto the saints.

But we do not forget that our question asks, "Do the *Scriptures* teach that there is to be a Millennium?" Therefore let us seek "unto the law and to the testimony."

THE SABBATH OF GOD'S WEEKS

The doctrine of a literal Millennium has a solid foundation in the Scriptural account of the creation. It is recorded in the first and second chapters of Genesis that God created the heavens and earth, and all that in them is, in six days, but the *seventh* day He rested from all His work. Wherefore He hallowed the *seventh* day and established, by His unalterable fiat, based upon His own example, the law of the *Sabbath*.

Let it be noted that this recurrence of the *seventh* day is not measured by astronomical movements like the day, month or year. It is, however, ingrained into the constitution of all life, both vegetable, animal and human. This law of completion in *weeks* is illustrated by gestation and disease. Even fevers run their course in *weeks*.

The human body is said to change its material substance once in seven years.

Music is based upon seven notes.

This division of time into *sevens*, or *weeks*, permeates the entire Scriptures.

A fundamental enactment, of the Mosaic law, was the keeping of the *Sabbath*. (Ex. 20:8.) Not only was the *week* of days reaffirmed which had been established, from the creation, but a *week* of weeks unto Pentecost was provided (Lev. 23:15-16), a *week* of months, with the Atonement and *seven* days' feast of Tabernacles in the *seventh* month (Lev. 23:27-28), and a *week* of years, ending with the *Sabbatic* year (Lev. 25:4), and also a *week* of *weeks* of years ending with a *seventh* *Sabbatic* year and followed by the year of Jubilee. (Lev. 25:8-12.)

The people and even the land were to rest on these recurring *seventh* years, both Sabbatic and Jubilee. God made special provision that the earth should bring forth so fruitfully on the sixth years, that there should be enough for man and beast to last over the *seventh* year of rest. (Lev. 25: 20-22.)

This law of *sevens* is also illustrated in the punishments of Israel. Their captivity in Babylon was for *seventy* years. (Jer. 25: 11-12, Dan. 9: 2.)

The great period revealed to Daniel (Ch. 9), unto the coming of the Messiah was divided into *seventy sevens*. (Dan. 9: 24.)

The unequaled period of Israel's punishment and dispersion in the lands of their enemies, prophesied by Moses in Lev. 26, is with four fold emphasis, specified to be for *seven times*. See verses 18, 21, 24 and 28.

The sacred year of the Jews began, by divine appointment, in the *seventh* civil month. (Ex. 12: 2; 13: 4; 1 Ki. 8: 2.)

The Passover was on the (twice *seven*) fourteenth day of the *seventh* month. (Ex. 12: 6.)

Seven days were they to eat unleavened bread. (Dent. 16: 3.)

The wave sheaf was to be on the first day after the *Sabbath* in the beginning of harvest. (Lev. 23: 10-11.)

It was *seven* weeks thereafter to Pentecost. (Lev. 23: 15-16.)

In the *seventh* sacred month was the feast of Trumpets, Atonement and Tabernacles. (Lev. 23: 24-36.)

Seven days were they to dwell in booths. (Lev. 23: 39-43.)

This sacred *seven* is woven into the laws, life and history of the chosen people, with whom God established his theocracy.

THE MILLENNIAL SABBATH

Two great and precious facts are founded upon this unalterable law of the *Sabbath*:

First—That God has decreed a great day of rest, a keeping of the *Sabbath*, for the whole world.

Second—That this *Sabbath* is to be a thousand years, or the *seventh millennium*.

The first proposition is forcibly argued by the Apostle in the 4th chapter of Hebrews; wherein he shows that the Israelites did not enter into God's rest, by reason of unbelief. Joshua did not give them rest. On the contrary, because of their unbelief and rebellious conduct, their carcasses fell in the wilderness. So, likewise, Jesus, our Joshua, had come to lead them into rest. He came unto His own—the lost sheep of the house of Israel—and His own received Him not. (John 1:11.) He would have delivered them and established the kingdom. He said the Kingdom of God is among you (not within you). (Lu. 17:21, see margin.)

The king was there and the kingdom, coming not with scrupulous observation (So the Gr., Lu. 17:20), was ready to be manifested among them.

But in unreasonable and blind unbelief, they rejected their Messiah and with wicked hands nailed Him to the cross. Then He, like the nobleman's son, of whom He had spoken, went into a far country to receive for Himself a kingdom and return, for His kingdom is not (ek) out of this world. (John 18:36.)

But the Apostle shows that, notwithstanding this unbelief, and twice rejecting the offer of rest, by them to whom the gospel was preached, there still remains a rest, a *keeping of the Sabbath*, for the people of God. (Heb. 4:9.)

The Lord help us all to heed the injunction that we ourselves may not fail to enter into it, by the same reason of unbelief.

Our second proposition, that this Sabbath rest is to last for a thousand years, is founded upon the Scriptural *week* of Creation.

In *six* days God made the heavens and the earth and all that in them is, but on the *seventh* day He rested. Six days of labor and one of rest.

In the 90th Psalm, we have the great fact stated, that a thousand years with God are as one day. "A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday." Lest we should construe this loosely, as a mere illustration of the brevity of time, in the sight of God, the Apostle Peter (2 Pet. 3:8) has emphatically guarded the fact, by a combined, double and reverse reiteration of the statement, prefacing it with a word of warning. Listen to his words:

"Forget not this one thing, beloved, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

Upon this rock we can consistently base our conclusion that as we have the Scriptural *week*, *week* of *weeks*, *week* of months, *week* of years, *week* of *weeks* of years, *week* of seventy years and *week* of times, we shall also have a *week* of millenniums. Six thousand-year days of labor, and then the blessed *seventh* millennium, a thousand years of rest.

THE WEEK OF AIONS

We have another line of proof, which runs through the whole of Scripture. It may be briefly stated as follows: All continuity of being or existence is measured by what we call time. Time is divided by the fundamental intermittent or wave principle into pulsations, or vibrations. A fly's wing makes 300 or more strokes in a second. In an alternating electrical current we can detect 100,000 vibrations in a second. But this is sluggish compared with alternations of light, which are said to be hundreds of millions of times in a second, and no one can tell how much more infinitesimal such vibrations may be, for they are like the indiscernible ultimate atoms.

From such unthinkable divisibility, we pass upward, through the discernible vibrations, into the common measurements of time, to-wit: seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, years, sabbatic years and Jubilees. Man has placed next, above jubilees, centuries, but centuries are not a Scriptural measurement.

The next Scriptural measurement of time is called in the Hebrew an *olam* and in the Greek an *aion*. This term *aion* has been transferred into the English, viz.: "eon," from which we derive the word "age."

This word *aion* is used 124 times in the New Testament. Unfortunately, it is translated, in our King James version, by several English words, such as "world," "course," "ages," "end," "ever" and "eternal." The revised version has corrected much of this erroneous translation. The Greek and even the English lexicon tells us that the word is a measure of time, and this is easily seen from its use.

It is impossible to give all the passages where it occurs in the limit of this paper. A few samples will suffice.

The harvest is the end of the *aion* (not cosmos-world). Matt. 13: 39-40.

What shall be the sign of Thy coming and of the end of the *aion* (not cosmos-world)? Matt. 24: 3.

Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for an *aion* (not aidios—eternal—forever). Matt. 21:29.

“For the *aion*” (not forever). Luke 1:55; John 6:51, 58; 8:35, etc.

“The children of this *aion*” (not world) “are * * * wiser than the children of light.” Lu. 16:8.

“The children of this *aion*” (not world) “marry * * * but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that *aion* * * * neither marry nor are given in marriage.” Lu. 20:34-35.

“Not only in this *aion*, but also in that which is to come.” Eph. 1:21.

“The mystery which from the *aions*” (plural) “hath been hid.” Eph. 3:9.

“That in the *aions* to come.” Eph. 2:7.

“Now unto the king of the *aions*.” 1 Tim. 1:17.

“By whom also he made the *aions*.” Heb. 1:2.

“Both now and throughout all the *aions*.” Jude 25.

“Unto Him be glory * * * throughout all the generation of the *aion*” (singular) “of the *aions*” (plural). Eph. 3:21.

“The smoke of their torment ascendeth up for *aions*” (plural) “of *aions*” (plural). Rev. 14:11.

“Her smoke rose up for *aions* of *aions*.” Rev. 19:3.

“Shall be tormented day and night for *aions* of *aions*.” Rev. 20:10.

“They shall reign for *aions* of *aions*.” Rev. 22:5.

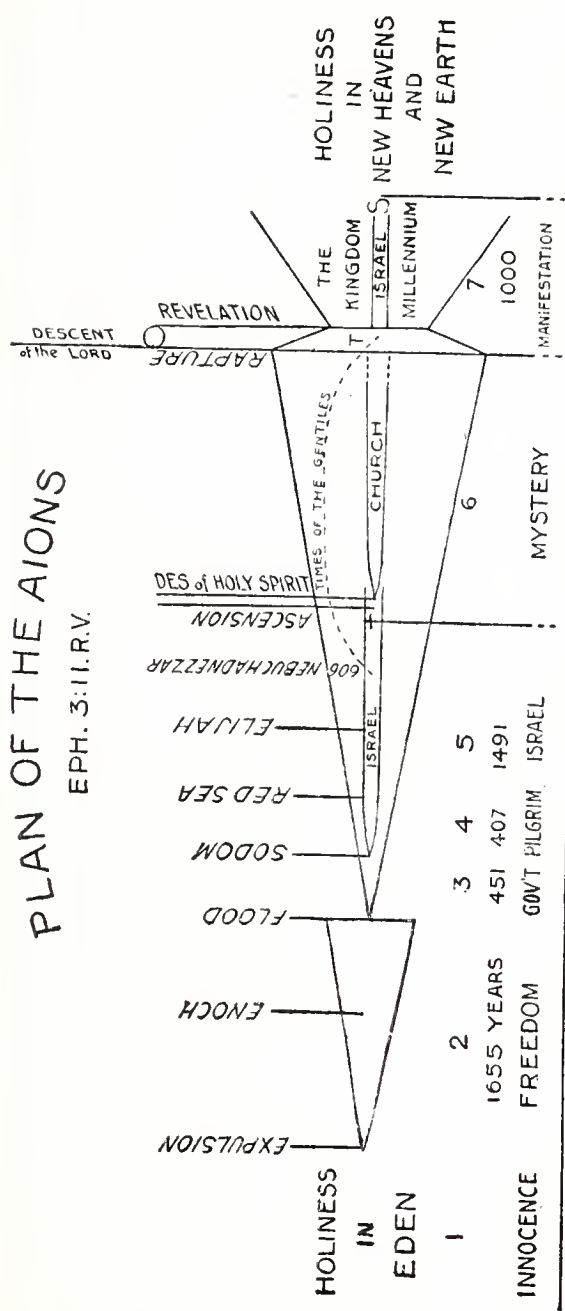
Notice that we have the singular *aion*, the plural *aions*, an *aion* of *aions*, a great *aion* composed of *aions*, the *week* of *aions* (see diagram), and the multiplied form, *aions* of *aions*.

It will be seen from the above that an *aion* has an end, and, as another follows, it must have a beginning. That there have been many in the past and there are to be many in the future. Jesus is the King of the *aions* (1 Tim. 1:17), they are all made by Him (Heb. 1:2), and they are all arranged on a plan. “According to the purpose (plan) of the *aions*.” Eph. 3:11, R. V.

PLAN OF THE AIONS

EPH. 3:11.R.V.

DIAGRAM



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AIONS OF AIONS

AION of AIONS



The seven aions-dispensations are numbered 1 to 7.

The first, Eden, terminates with the expulsion.

The second, Antediluvian, terminates with the flood.

The third, Postdiluvian, terminates with the overthrow of Sodom.

The fourth, Patriarchal, terminates with the Red Sea.

The fifth, Mosaic, terminates with the Crucifixion.

The sixth, Christian, terminates with the Rapture and Revelation.

The seventh, Millennial, terminates with Satan's final overthrow.

Then follows the new Heavens and new Earth.

The character of each dispensation is indicated by the words innocence, freedom, etc.

The spreading lines indicate the increase of population.

Israel is shown as a distinct people among the nations, from the time of Abraham to the Crucifixion, and destruction of Jerusalem.

Then they are scattered like seed among all nations throughout the Christian dispensation and again gathered as the center of the Millennial kingdom. The small cross represents the crucifixion and descent of Christ's spirit into hades, followed by His resurrection and ascension into heaven, the descent of the Holy Spirit and commencement of the Church—the body of Christ—distinct from Jew or Gentile during this dispensation.

The dotted line marks "the times of the Gentiles" running from Nebuchadnezzar to antichrist, during which Israel is under the Gentile dominion of the four great empires, Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome, represented by the image in Dan. 2.

RAPTURE.—The resurrection of those that sleep in Jesus, and change of living believers (1 Cor. 15: 23, 51, 52), who are caught away to meet the Lord in the air (1 Thes. 4: 17). Enoch and Elijah are types of this Rapture.

M.—The meeting of Christ and His bride. 1 Thes. 4: 17; Eph. 5: 21-32; 2 Cor. 11: 2.

This is our gathering together unto Him. 2 Thes. 2:1.

And the marriage of the Lamb. Matt. 22:2-10; 25:10;

Luke 14:15-24; Rev. 19:7-8.

So shall we ever be with the Lord. John 12:26; 14:3;

17:24; 1 Thes. 4:17.

It is the Hope of the Church. Phil 3:20-21; Tit. 2:13;

1 Jno. 3:2-3.

It is the redemption mentioned in Luke 21:28; Rom.

8:23; Eph. 4:30.

Wherefore comfort one another with these words. 1

Thes. 4:18.

Thus the church escapes the tribulation. Luke 21:36;

2 Pet. 2:9; Rev. 3:10.

TRIBULATION.—Then follows a period of unequalled tribulation to the world (Dan. 12:1; Matt. 24:21; Luke 21:25-26), during which, the true church having been taken out, God begins to deal with Israel again (Acts 15:13-17; Psalms 51:18; 102:16). He allows them to gather themselves (Zeph. 2:1-2), they make a covenant with antichrist (Dan. 9:27), and pass through great judgments and affliction, until at last they look upon Him whom they have pierced (Zech. 12:10), and they are saved and restored (Isa. 11:11, 60; Jer. 30:3; Jer. 31; 32:36-44; Zech. 10:10; Rom. 11) never more to be pulled up out of their land. Amos 9:15; Ezek. 34:28.

Antichrist will be revealed. 2 Thes. 2:8; Rev. 13.

The vials of God's wrath poured out. Psalms 2:1-5; Rev.

6:16-17; 14:10; Rev. 16.

REVELATION.—Revelation of Christ and His saints (the Church His body) descending to the earth (Col. 3:4; 1 Thes. 3:13) in flaming fire (2 Thes. 1:7-10) to execute judgment on the earth. Jude 14, 15. Then follow the destruction of antichrist. 2 Thes. 2:8. The beast and false prophet are taken. Rev. 19. Gog and his allies are smitten. Ezek. 38:39. Satan is bound. Rev. 20:1-3; Rom. 16:20. The judgment of the nations or the quick. Matt. 25:31-46; 19:28; Acts 10:42; 1 Pet.

4:5. The resurrection of the tribulation saints, which completes the First Resurrection. Rev. 20:4-6.

THE KINGDOM.—The Millennium. Christ's glorious reign on earth for a thousand years (Rev. 20:4), with His bride or body. 2 Tim. 2:12; Rev. 5:10; Isa. 2:2-5 and 4 and 11:1-12 and 25:6-9 and 32:1-2 and 65:18-25; Mich. 4:1-4; Zeph. 3:14-20; Zech. 8:3-8 and 20:23 and 14:16-21.

S.—Satan loosed for a little season, deceiving the nations once more. Gog and Magog are destroyed, and Satan is finally cast into the Lake of Fire (Rev. 20:7-10; Heb. 2:14), the fire prepared for the devil and his angels. Matt. 25:41. Then follows the Resurrection of Judgment. Rev. 20:12-15; John 5:29; Dan. 12:2. The judgment at the Great White Throne of all the remaining dead. Rev. 20:11-15. Death and hell (hades) destroyed. Rev. 20:14; 1 Cor. 15:26.

Then "the aions to come" (Eph. 2:7), beginning with the New Heavens and the New Earth.¹

The lower portion of the diagram shows these seven aions, on a much smaller scale, as an "aion of aions." In the past are the *olams* of *olams* and in the future are the aions of aions, showing that eternity is the continued measurement of time.

Aion is the measure of each of the eras, or dispensations, which mark the progress of the universe. They are not all of the same duration, but, so far as we know them, each *aion* marks a change in God's method of dealing with mankind. Probably the *aions* of the past, the ante-Edenic *olams* of the Old Testament, mark the geological periods of the earth, and the various eras in the development of the universe. And, as the past has been an orderly unfolding of Creation and revelation of the Creator, so shall the future be, not a limitless *aion* called eternity, but a limitless

¹ For detailed explanation of this diagram—giving all the passages in which the word *aion* occurs—and the presentation of other subjects concerning the second coming of Christ—see "Jesus is Coming," by W. E. B. Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago, New York, Toronto.

succession of *aions* measuring infinite duration. See lower section of the diagram.

But, says one, if *aions* are measured periods then all *aions* are measured; and there will be an end to the sorrows of the ungodly (Rev. 14:11), and to the glory and dominion of the Lamb and his saints. Rev. 1:6, 11:15; 22:5.

No! beloved, for the best idea we mortals can have of infinity, or eternity, is that of continued measurement, and this is exactly the idea conveyed by the indefinite expression *aions* of *aions*.

Time is the measure of eternity; and eternity is the continued measurement of time.

Take, for instance, a yard-stick, and it measures only three feet. But turn it over and over and over, and you pass round the world, out to the moon, the sun, the stars, the farthestmost nebula, and all the limits of imagination, and still the little measure goes on and on into the unthinkable.

In like manner the Scriptural succession of *aions* measures eternity.

The little section of this mighty plan of the *aions* which covers human history is shown on a large scale in the upper portion of the diagram (p. 14.). It shows *seven* *aions*—a week of *aions*. The diverging lines represent the increase of population, suddenly cut down to eight at the flood and to be again greatly reduced at the close of the present dispensation.

Notice that each *aion*, or dispensation, begins in grace and ends in judgment.

1. The *aion* of holiness in Eden, terminating in the expulsion.

2. The Antediluvian, terminating in the flood. During this *aion* Enoch is caught up, a type of the coming rapture of the Church.

3. The Post-diluvian, terminating in the destruction of Sodom.

4. The Patriarchal, terminating in the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea.

5. The Mosaic or Jewish, terminating in the crucifixion and destruction of Jerusalem. In this Elijah becomes another type of the coming rapture of the Church.

6. The Christian, to terminate in the great tribulation (Matt. 24:21), the coming of our Lord, the overthrow of Satan's kingdom and the judgment of nations. During this *aion* the Jews are scattered like seed among all nations. Amos 9:8-9; Lu. 21:24.

7. The Millennial Kingdom, terminating in Satan's last deception and the judgment of the great white throne. Rev. 20:7-15.

These *seven* make a *week* of *aions* corresponding to the expression in Eph. 3:21, *aion* of *aions*.

Beyond this is the "New Heavens" and "New Earth," wherein dwelleth righteousness, the beginning of another series of *aions*. In harmony with the *weeks of years*, appointed unto Israel (Lev. 25:8-11), other great *aions*, that is, *weeks of aions*, are to follow, corresponding to the repeated expression *aions of aions*.

How vain it seems for any one to assert, in the face of such overwhelming Scriptural testimony, that the present Christian dispensation is the final *aion* of human history upon the earth. Some even assert that Matt. 13:39-40; 24:3, etc., speak of the end of the world, instead of the end of the age, or *aion*.

Again, it is often asserted, by so-called scholars, that, after this present dispensation, there is to come an eternal age or *aion*. This cannot be, for the *Scriptures* plainly show that this *aion* is to be followed by the *aion* to come and that there are *aions* and *aions of aions* to come, an orderly unfolding of the future, in which our God shall "show the exceeding riches of His grace in kindness toward us in Christ Jesus." Eph. 2:7.

Out of this vast aionian division of time, so clearly and thoroughly set forth in the *Scriptures*, six *aions* have thus far covered the experiences of our race; and six *aions* of trouble and sorrow have they been. But thank God another is coming, an *aion* of peace and happiness, for it is the first

of those in which God will show the exceeding riches of His grace to us (Eph. 2:7), and hence we conclude it is that thousand-year day of rest which God has promised to the willing and obedient of the children of men.

It may be asked, if the seventh aion is to be a thousand years, why should not the preceding six aions be, each one, a thousand years long? We only know, from history, that each aion is a measured period, in which God manifests a different method in dealing with the human race. Each begins with a fresh manifestation of grace and closes with judgment. So that, while of unequal duration, they are definitely marked eras of time; and the sum of them, from Eden up to the present time, is almost *six thousand years*. The first six days of the week are not ordinarily distinguished one from another, as to the character or occupation, but are taken together. "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." Ex. 20:9-10.

So the six aions have been work days for man, of labor and sorrow, but the *seventh* shall be the keeping of a *Sabbath*. The thousand-year day of the Lord.

THE KINGDOM

We have another argument based upon the revelations of Scripture concerning the Kingdom.

God made man in his own image and said: "let them have dominion * * * over all the earth." Gen. 1:26. Through sin, man lost the dominion and Satan became ruler—"the god of this world." A train of woe and sorrow has filled the earth through these six days of labor and even in this boasted twentieth century and the Nations are yet plunging on into war, avarice, idolatry and misery, under Satan's deceptions.

But God promised that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. Gen. 3.

He hath sworn that every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that He is the Lord. Isa. 45:23; Phil. 2:10, 11.

The knowledge of the Lord shall yet cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Hab. 2:14.

God called Abraham and promised that, in him and in his seed, all the nations shall be blessed. Gen. 12:3.

He established the Theocracy, through Moses, and gave a code of laws, which have been the foundation of all good government.

He promised that David's house, and his throne, and his kingdom should be established forever (for the olams, or aions). 2 Sam. 7, 16.

He has promised that a "king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment." Isa. 32:1.

He hath promised that "the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and all dominions shall serve and obey Him." Dan. 7:27.

He hath said of Israel, "this people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise." Isa. 43:21

"When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." Deut. 32:8.

He says, "I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee." Jer. 46:28 and 30:11.

He says, "Israel is the rod of His inheritance," * * * His "battle ax," with which He will break in pieces the nations and destroy kingdoms. Jer. 51:19, 20.

He says they shall be restored to their own land and "shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God." Amos 9:15. Indeed, it is impossible to quote the multitude of Scripture passages which affirm and describe this great dispensational truth, of the restoration of Israel and their glorious kingdom.

Prophecies to the people, like Deut. 30 and Ezek. 37. Prophecies to the nations, like Isa. 34 and 35. Prophecies to the isles and people that are far off, to the heavens and the earth, like Isa. 49. Prophecies to the land itself, its mountains, rivers, valleys and desolate wastes, like Ezek. 36.

The Apostle James summed them all up at the first council of the disciples in Jerusalem, saying: "To this agree the words of the prophets, as it is written; after this" (after the church is taken out, see v. 14) "I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up." Acts 15, 16.

It is amusing, yea, it is astonishing, to see the attempts of many scholars to try to *spiritualize* (as they call it) all these promises and vainly apply them to the church; and tell us that Jesus is now on His "mediatorial throne" reigning over the church.

There is no such term in Scripture as "*mediatorial* throne." It is man-made, the same as the term "*general* resurrection" or "*general* judgment."

Jesus was received into the heavens and is set down at the right hand of God. He is far above all authority and power, but He is on His Father's throne, from henceforth expecting until his enemies he made His footstool. Psa. 110:1; Mar. 16:19; Heb. 10:12-13.

He is there as a minister, a mediator, the high priest of the true tabernacle, in the heavens (Heb. 8). Head over all, to the church (Eph. 1:24), our intercessor (Rom. 8:34), our advocate (1 John 2:1). He is appearing in the presence of God for us. Heb. 9:24.

But in due time, like the earthly high priest, He shall come forth, out of this heavenly Holy of Holies (Heb. 9:28), appearing the second time, in like manner as He went away. Acts 1:11.

Then shall the church be caught up to meet Him and forever be joined unto her Lord (1 Thes. 4:13-18) to reign with Him forever. 2 Tim. 2:12. Then shall His feet stand upon the Mount of Olives (Zech. 14:4) and then shall Israel look upon Him whom they have pierced (Zech. 12:10) and a nation shall be born in a day. Isa. 66:8.

Then shall He sit in *His throne* (Matt. 19:28; Rev. 3:21) as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. 1 Tim. 6:15.

This distinction between the church and the kingdom is fundamental.

The church is the body of the Lord, subject to persecution and affliction, filling up the sufferings of Christ which are left behind, unto the close of Satan's reign as the "prince of this world."

But the kingdom is the restoration of the Theocracy, with Jesus and the Church (head and body—the Christ) as sovereign, Israel as the center; and all nations subdued to a righteous government.

Then shall the Lord sit in His throne and before Him shall be gathered all nations. Matt. 25:31.

Then shall the twelve apostles "sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Matt. 19:28. Mark well that these are no fanciful imaginations, but they are the literal words of Scripture.

Then shall "the mountain of the Lord's house be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it." Isa. 2:2.

Jesus is not king of the church. He is her bridegroom, her husband. Eph. 5.

But He is the King of Israel. Zech. 9:9; John 1:49.

He was prophesied as King of the Jews. Isa. 9:6.

He was born King of the Jews. Matt. 2:2.

He said He was King of the Jews. Matt. 27:11.

He was crucified as King of the Jews. Matt. 27:37.

"The Lord God hath promised to give Him the throne of His father David and He shall reign over the House of Jacob forever." Luke 1:33.

Yes, the King shall come, and the kingdom shall be restored to Israel.

"And thou, O tower of the flock, the hill of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, yea, the former dominion shall come, the kingdom of the daughter of Jerusalem." Mich. 4:8.

Israel shall "arise and shine." They shall "flow together." "The ships of Tarhsish shall bring thy sons from far." "The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls." "The wealth of the nations" shall be brought unto them and "their kings led captive." The "nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Isa. 60. Israel shall bud and blossom and fill the face of the world with fruit. Isa. 27:6.

It is objected that the kingdom is to be established by the preaching of the gospel, which is to work like leaven until the nations are converted to righteousness. By such reasoning, *men* eliminate the "glorious hope" of our Lord's return (Tit. 2:11-13) and the restoration of Israel and the literal government of this world by Jesus and the saints of the Most High.

What a gloomy vision this puts before us.

Why! at the same rate of progress, which has been made in the past 1800 years, it would take 7400 years to make the

world nominal Christians; and they would all die one generation after another two hundred times.

And how long would it take for a nominally Christian world to become truly and wholly converted to Christ? Alas! we have no data for such a computation. The history of the world presents no such result. The trend is all the other way. Not even a backslidden church has ever been wholly revived. Much less has a nominally Christian nation ever been wholly converted. On the contrary, both are to-day reckoned as great fields for evangelical missionary effort. Strange indeed, that men will hold and advocate such a hopeless, pessimistic view.

But what saith the Scriptures? The tares and wheat shall grow together unto the end (of the aion). Matt. 13:30. "Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse." 2 Tim. 3:13. Perilous times are coming. 2 Tim. 3:1. The great tribulation is before us. (Matt. 24:21), "the day of Jacob's trouble" (Jer. 30:7), the apostacy and the coming of the "man of sin," "the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." 2 Thes. 2:3-4.

Satan will yet make his hereculean effort to hold the nations in the grasp of his deceptions.

What is God's method to overthrow the empire of evil? Is it the slow process of the leaven? Nay verily. What saith the Scriptures?

"Wait ye upon me saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey: for my determination is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms, to pour upon them mine indignation * * * for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy." Zeph. 3:8.

It will be quickly done, for He saith, "A short work will I make upon the earth." "He will * * * cut it short in righteousness." Rom. 9:28.

God revealed, through Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar, by a colossal image, the whole course of Gentile government—Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian and Roman. It covers the entire history, from the suspension of the Theocracy to

its restoration, when it shall break in pieces all these kingdoms.

How does it break them in pieces? By some slow process? Nay. A stone smites the image on its feet and the whole mass becomes like the chaff of the summer threshing floors and the wind carries them away forever.

Note that the smiting is not in the hips—the strength of the Roman empire, when Jesus came to be crucified—but on the feet, when He shall come again in power and glory.

What will He do to the nations? Listen to the Psalmist: “Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter’s vessel.” *Psa. 2:9.*

Note carefully that this is when He sets His King upon His holy hill of Zion, and gives to Him the nations for His inheritance. See verses 6 and 8.

There is no slow nor gentle process about this. But He will deal gently with those that love Him. “Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth * * * it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord’s anger.” *Zeph. 2:3.*

Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers * * * hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.” *Isa. 26:20.*

Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father’s good pleasure to give you the kingdom.” *Lu. 12:32.*

Yes. He shall give them the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world. But note carefully they do not inherit it until the Son of Man sits in the throne of His glory and the nations have been gathered and judged. “*Then*” (and not till then) “shall the King say unto them: Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” *Matt. 25:31-34.*

Such, beloved is a small portion of the Scripture testimony which affirms the coming of the King, the regathering of Israel and the restoration of the Theocratic kingdom. And as the kingdom immediately follows this dispensation, it can be none other than the “*aion to come*,” that *seventh* day of God’s great *week* of Millenniums.

POLITICS

“For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulders: * * * Of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even forever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.” Isa. 9:6, 7.

“It should be recognized much more than it is, that the Bible is a *political* Book rather than anything else; that the promises and the warnings and the prophecies of the Old Testament, and in a large measure also of the New, are *political*; that Christ Himself is a *political* Character, and that religion is only the highest form of politics. This will be readily understood when we consider that the word “politics” signifies the science of Government, and that it includes the government of a household, of a city, of a province, of a Kingdom, of an Empire, and finally of the Heavens and all they contain. God is therefore the greatest of all Political or Governing Beings, as He is the Head of all Power and Government, whether in Heaven or Earth, and that He has committed all power unto the Son, i. e., to Christ (Isa. 9:6, 7; Matt. 28:18; John 5:22; Col. 2:9, 10; Rev. 12:10). The fact that men forget, ignore, or fail to recognize this, does not alter the great *fact*.”

What men call “natural laws” are simply the uniformity of God’s action, in material and temporal affairs. “He alone spreadeth out the heavens * * * maketh Arcturus, Orion and Pleiades * * * doeth great things past finding out.” Job 9:8-10. But He also cares for the minutest animaleulæ and not a “sparrow falls on the ground without Him.” Matt. 10:29.

It is often asserted that it would be beneath the dignity of our Lord to attend to the politics of this world. This is

based upon a mistaken idea of His divine character. His omniscience and omnipresence are most forcibly shown in the minutia of detail care. He will "rule the nations with a rod of iron." Rev. 2:27. And He will also care for all the wants of the poor and the needy.

"In His days shall the righteous flourish. * * * He shall have dominion also from sea to sea * * * Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him." Psa. 72:7-11.

THE RESURRECTION

We have an unanswerable argument based upon the words of the Scriptures, concerning the resurrection.

The Scriptures teach that all the dead will be raised. "All that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth." John 5:28-29.

But the expression, "General resurrection," is not in the Scriptures. It is man-made. On the contrary, the Scriptures most clearly teach a difference in *time* for the resurrection of those "that have done good" as contrasted with those "that have done evil." The first class are raised unto *life*, but the other class are raised unto *Judgment*. One is the resurrection of the Just (Luke 14:14) while the other is the resurrection to shame and everlasting contempt. Dan. 12:3. The one is connected with reward, but the other with punishment. "As in Adam *all* die, so in Christ shall *all* be made alive. But each in his own order" (or band) "Christ the first fruits; then (afterward) they that are Christ's at His coming. Then (afterward) cometh the end." 1 Cor. 15:22-26. The Greek *ita*, which is here translated "then," means next in order, but not necessarily immediate, as will be seen by its use in Mark 4:17, 28; 1 Tim. 2:13. The whole figure is taken from the marching of an army—each in their own band or cohort. As there has been eighteen hundred years between the resurrection of Christ and the band at His coming, so there can be centuries between the first and second bands.

This is exactly what is stated in 1 Thes. 4:16: "The dead in Christ shall rise first."

We know that the adjective, first, relates to those saints who are alive on the earth at the coming of the Lord. But that it also refers to a "first resurrection," as compared with those who will be raised later, is evident from the following: If the resurrection of the righteous is to occur centuries be-

fore that of the ungodly, it logically follows that the first class would be spoken of as being raised *from* the dead.

We rejoice in the fact that the Scriptures emphatically make this distinction.

The resurrection of the dead (ton nekron) is applied to all classes (see Matt. 22:31, etc.*), but the resurrection *from* the dead (ek nekron) is never applied, in the Scriptures, to the ungodly. It is always applied to the righteous.

The force of this may be seen by a very simple illustration. If ten apples are taken out of a basketful and afterwards the rest are taken, all will be taken, but only ten are taken *from* the rest.

This expression (Gr. ek nekron) from the dead, occurs 49 times in the New Testament, to-wit: 34 times of Christ's resurrection, whom we know was thus raised (ek) *out of or from the dead*.† 3 times of John's supposed resurrection, whom Herod thought, had been thus raised *out of the dead*.‡ 3 times of the resurrection of Lazarus, who was raised *out of the dead*. 3 times figuratively of spiritual life *out of* the deadness of sin.

It is used in Luke 16:31, "Though one rose *from the dead*," and in Heb. 11:19, expressing Abraham's faith that God could raise Isaac *from the dead*.

And the remaining four times, it is used to express a future resurrection *out of the dead*, namely, in Mark 12:25, where Jesus says: "When they shall rise *from the dead*, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels which are in heaven."

In Luke 20:35-36. "But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world (aion), and the resurrection which is *from among the dead*, neither marry nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more." No second

*Mat. 22:31; Acts 17:32; 23:6; 24:15, 21; 1 Cor. 15:12, 13, 21, 42, and especially John 5:28, 29.

†Mat. 17:9; Mark 9:9, 10; Luke 24:16; John 2:22; 20:9, 21, 14; Acts 3:15; 4:10; 10:41; 13:30, 34; 17:3, 31; 26:23; Rom. 1:4; 4:24; 6:4-9; 7:4; 8:11; 10:7, 9; 1 Cor. 15:12, 20; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:20; Col. 1:18; 2:12; 1 Thes. 1:10; 2 Tim. 2:8; Heb. 13:20; 1 Pet. 1:3, 21.

‡Mark 6:14, 16; Luke 9:7.

||John 12:1, 9, 17.

death for these "For they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

In Acts 4:1-2 we read that "the Sadducees were grieved because Peter and John 'preached through Jesus the resurrection which is *from among the dead.*'"

In Phil. 3:11 the emphasis is remarkable. The preposition *ek* is twice repeated, "teen exanastasin teen ek nekron." The King James translation "of the dead" is corrected in the revised version to "from the dead." But the literal translation is "the RESURRECTION OUT FROM AMONG THE DEAD."

Olshausen declares that the "phrase would be inexplicable if it were not derived from the idea that, out of the mass of the dead, some would rise first."

It is the resurrection of a select class only. Paul as a Pharisee, believed in the fact of a universal resurrection (Acts 23:6-8), but we see, from the foregoing, why he counted all things but loss—if by any means he might attain unto this resurrection FROM AMONG THE DEAD; and he calls it the "BETTER RESURRECTION." Heb. 11:35. It is the resurrection of LIFE. John 5:29; Dan. 12:2.

But there is also to be a "resurrection of JUDGMENT." John 5:29. It is the resurrection of the unjust. Acts 24:15; Dan. 12:2. It is the completion of the resurrection of the dead (ton nekron). Hence we see that there is a difference in time, as well as in character, in these orders, or bands, of the resurrection.*

*The same distinction is made in the Old Testament. "The true rendering of Dan. 12:1-3 in connection with the context, is 'And (at that time) many (of thy people) shall awake (or be separated) *out from among* the sleepers in the earth dust. *These* (who awake) shall be unto life everlasting, but *those* (who do not awake at that time) shall be unto shame and contempt everlasting.' So the most renowned Hebrew doctors render it."

"The '*Those*' who do not awake, at that time, are the wicked dead. Isa. 26:14. They include the 'Slain of the Lord,' Isa. 66:16, whom the Hebrew teachers called '*Shear Hammerthim*,' i. e., 'the Remainder of the Dead.' * * * '*Many out from among*' cannot mean '*all that are in*.' * * * Dan. 12:1-3 teaches only the '*First resurrection*,' as does Isa. 26:19, its Old Testament companion piece, as Delitzsch calls it. * * * In Rabbinic terms the Resurrection *out from* (min) the dead is called "*Techiyyath Tsadikim*," 'The making alive of the

And now comes the question, How long is this difference in time?

Jesus said in John 6: 39, 40, 44, 54, speaking of believers, "I will raise him up at the last day," and it is objected that, if the righteous are to be raised in the *last* day, there can be no other day for the resurrection of the ungodly.

But a moment's reflection upon Peter's admonition, that "a *day* with the Lord is as a *thousand years*," not only sweeps away the objection, but, in conformity with these great lines of Scripture teaching, shows us that this *last day* is the "day of the Lord," the thousand-year day, the sacred day of *rest* of God's great week of aions. It begins with the resurrection of the righteous, and closes with the resurrection of the rest of the dead. The just and the unjust. And this thousand-year day, of rest and resurrection, is the Scriptural Millennium.

"The rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years are finished." Rev. 20: 5.

THE JUDGMENT

There is another similar argument, based upon the words of Scripture, concerning the Judgment. Men talk of a "General Judgment," but there is no such term in the Word. On the contrary, the Scriptures tell of at least five distinct Judgments.

1. Of believers, as to character, upon the cross of Christ, so that we shall not come into the judgment of condemnation. John 5: 24.

2. Of believers, as to works, at the Judgment seat of Christ. 1 Cor. 4: 1-5: 3: 13, 15; 2 Cor. 5: 9, 10; Rom. 14: 10, 12.

Righteous,' or '*Techiyyath Hammethim*,' 'The making alive of the Dead;' and differs from the '*Amdath Hammethim*,' or mere 'Standing up of the Dead.' See Rev. Nathaniel West, D. D., in "The Thousand Years in Both Testaments."

Note carefully that the Hebrew expression "*Shear Hammethim*" means "Rest of the Dead," the very words used by John, Rev. 20: 5, to designate those who rise not until the thousand years are finished, and who after the thousand years *Stand* before God. Rev. 20: 12.

3. Of the living nations, at the beginning of the Millennium. Matt. 25:31-46; Acts 10:42; 2 Tim. 4:1; 1 Pet. 4:5.

4. Of the "rest of the dead" at the close of the Millennium, before the great white throne. Rev. 20:12-15.

5. The Judgment of angels. 1 Cor. 6:3; 2 Pet. 2:4; Jude 6.

SUFFERINGS AND GLORY

Let us add, to the foregoing arguments, the important statement of the Holy Spirit, through the Apostle Peter. The prophets "sought and searched diligently,—searching what *time*, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto, when it testified beforehand the suffering of Christ, and the glories that should follow them." 1 Pet. 1:10-11 R. V.

Mark it carefully, that the glory follows the sufferings. The term "Christ" includes head and body (Eph. 1:22-23; 5:23; Rev. 12:5) and the body is allotted to suffering, as well as the head, so that "all, who will live Godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." 2 Tim. 3:12. We "fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ." Col. 1:24; 2 Cor. 1:5-6; Phil. 3:10; 2 Tim. 1:8; 2:12. Not only does the New Testament teach this, but nineteen hundred years of experience, through faggot, flame, stripes and ostracism, prove that suffering is inevitable to the Godly in this dispensation.

Hence we see that there is no place for the glory in this evil age (Gal. 1:4), and therefore it must follow in the promised Millennium.

REVELATION

Thus far, we have scarcely referred to the book of Revelation, because it is often asserted, by superficial scholars, that the doctrine of a Millennium has no foundation in any other part of Scripture, except in this book. The folly of such an assertion is readily seen. Why, as we have already stated, the doctrine of the Millennium was held by Jewish scholars, long before the book of Revelation was written. It was commonly taught in the Talmud that the Messianic Kingdom would last for one thousand years; and this was based entirely upon the Old Testament Scripture. And now, having shown that the doctrine rests on God's Holy Week, and is interwoven with the other great cardinal doctrines, throughout the whole of Scripture, let us come to this book of Revelation, of which it is said, "Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy and keep those things which are written therein." Rev. 1:3.

No other book in the Scriptures has such a blessing pronounced upon it.

Satan hates to have Christians read this book more than any other, because it so fully and plainly tells of his downfall and their triumph. It describes *how* God "shall bruise Satan under" our "feet shortly." Rom. 16:20.

In the very first chapter, we are told that Jesus Christ—the ruler of the kings of the earth—hath made us to be a kingdom and priests unto His God and Father. In the 5th chapter we are told that we shall reign *upon the earth*. This word earth (Gr. *Gee*) always means the physical earth, the land or ground.

Note this. The kingdom is not some imaginary, ethereal, "spiritual" (so-called) dominion, but a literal reign of righteous government *upon the earth*.

In the 7th chapter the twelve tribes of Israel are included. For these, Jesus has promised thrones to be occupied by each of His twelve apostles. Matt. 19:28.

In the 12th chapter is revealed The Christ, Jesus the head—caught up to God and His throne eighteen centuries ago, and the church—His body—to be caught up at the Rapture. Then shall be war in heaven. Then shall Satan and his angels be cast out into the earth. Then shall the Heavens rejoice, but the earth shall wail because Satan is come down, having great wrath, knowing his time is short. He immediately begins his persecution of the woman, Israel, out of whom Christ-head (Jesus) and body (the church) has been taken.

We must remember that the Church was begun with a little band of Jews—the faithful remnant (Acts 1:14-15; 2:1-4; Rom. 9:27; 11:4), and we gentiles, are wild olive branches grafted in among them. Rom. 11:17. So that the Church is also out of the woman—Israel.

The 13th chapter reveals the mastery efforts of Satan to stamp out all worship of God from the earth and inaugurate the worship of himself. He will seize and control commercialism, so that no man can buy or sell unless he has the mark of the beast.

There will be only one trust then, and it will be world-wide. He will seize all political power, and bring forth his two great wild-beasts of Satanic dominion. He will seize apostate Christendom and use it for a little, until it becomes so corrupt that his secular powers tear it to pieces.

Then he will bring forth his antichrist and set up his image and kill all those who will not worship it. Note this carefully, for these are the tribulation saints, of whom we read in the 20th chapter.

The 17th chapter is a description of the great harlot, apostate Christendom.

The 18th chapter is a description of rebuilt, literal Babylon, which Satan will make his capital.

That the old city of Babylon is to be rebuilt is evident, because it has never been destroyed, in the sudden and over-

whelming manner which the Scriptures describe. See Isa. 13:19; Jer. 50:40; Rev. 18:21.

The 19th chapter describes the return of Jesus, with the Church, which will have been caught up to meet Him (1 Thes. 4:13-18), and the armies of heaven following Him. He smites the nations, the beasts, and the kings of the earth are overthrown and cast into the lake of fire. Then in logical order the 20th chapter gives us the climax—the binding of Satan himself and the Millennial reign of the saints, with Christ, for a thousand years.

Let us read this passage carefully, remembering that it is *Scripture, God's Holy Word*. Rev. 20:1-8:

1. And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.

2. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years.

3. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and *I saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received *his* mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

7. And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8. And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather

them together to battle: the number of whom *is* as the sand of the sea.

Six times repeated in this passage, we have the plain expression "Thousand years" (Latin Millennium) as the measure of the time during which Satan is bound and the saints reign. The doctrine of the Millenium is so plainly taught in this Scripture that "wayfaring men shall not err therein." Isa. 35:8.

We might consistently rest the whole argument here, for, in the face of such definite language, how can anyone have the temerity to claim that the *Scriptures* do not teach the doctrine of a Millenium?

Those who do so, usually proceed upon one of two methods. One is to attack the Apocalypse—this blessed book of Revelation—as not authentic, or as being uncanonical and uncreditable.

God have mercy upon such sacrilege.

The other method is a process of, so-called, "*spiritualizing*" interpretation, by which men substitute their own imaginary conceptions for the Word of God. It recklessly opens the way for all the vagaries of Swendenborgianism, or the havoc of destructive criticism.

Our modern destructive critics have hurled their chief efforts against the Apocalypse of Daniel in the Old Testament and the Apocalypse of John in the New Testament. These attacks are not new. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, raised the question of the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, and in the course of the fourth century it was removed from the sacred canon, "and thus," says a learned historian, "the troublesome foundation on which Chiliasm might have continued was gotten rid of."

For many centuries the Greek Church kept the Johannie Apocalypse out of its canon. But "the old Book" stood, and was finally restored late in the middle ages.

And it stands still, beloved, and will stand, when the "destructive critics," like the "vapor that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth." (Jas. 4:14), have passed away.

It is the Word of God, "the Revelation of Jesus Christ,

which God gave Him, to show unto His servants." Based upon such apostolic foundation, the doctrine of the Millennium was received by the entire Apostolic Church.

The early fathers, Papius, Justin, Cerenthus, Irenaeus, Hippolitus, Tertullian and others all believed and taught it. Justin speaks of Chiliasm as a necessary part of complete orthodoxy.

But "the spirit of philosophical and theological speculation and reflection, which began to spread through the churches in the third and fourth centuries, did not know what to make of the old hopes of the future." A mighty conflict was developed, and Satan found agencies to undermine the faith of God's people in this blessed doctrine of the Millennium. Origin and his school, introduced the "spiritualizing" methods of interpreting escatology.

"Augustine, in the western church, who once believed in Chiliasm, changed with the downfall of the Roman empire, and was the first to teach that the Catholic Church, in its empirical form, was the Kingdom of Christ, that the Millennial Kingdom had commenced with the appearing of Christ, and was therefore an accomplished fact."*

We know the sad result, in the centuries of dark ages which followed.

But how much more grievous it is to find that men will advocate the same mistaken methods now. They tell us that Revelation is a symbolical book and therefore we cannot take its plain statements literally. They say that because the horns, lions and beasts are figurative, therefore the thousand years must be figurative and mean any indefinite time we choose.

Such reasoning is most fallacious and destroys all foundation for conveying definite ideas by *any* language.

As well might we call Jesus Christ a mere figure, because he is represented by a "shoot," a "branch," "the morning star," the "sun," or a "Lamb." No portion of the Bible is more strongly figurative than the first six chapters of Zechariah. But who would be so foolish as to claim that

*A. Hilliard Atteridge in Encyclopedia Britannica.

Zerubbabel, Judah and Jerusalem were figurative because they are mentioned therein?

But, says the objector, this is the only place in Scripture where the thousand years is mentioned. We are surprised that any student should make such a statement. Can they be willingly ignorant of *Psa. 90*, and *2 Pet. 3:8*? But suppose it was the only place. Is not that enough, if it is the Word of God?

The most important event in all human history is the incarnation—the hypostatic union of the Divine and the human, in our Lord Jesus. And yet the plain prophecy of His birth without a human father, rested for seven centuries upon the single passage in *Isa. 7:14*.

Likewise a single passage told of His birth at Bethlehem (*Mic. 5:2*), His entry into Jerusalem on a colt (*Zech. 9:9*), and many other events, foretold by a single prophecy, have all come to pass. Just so surely shall this sixfold prophecy of the thousand years be fulfilled, for *our God* hath spoken it.

Some have stumbled over the word souls, as though only spirits were meant, forgetting, or overlooking, the fact that the same word, *psukee*, is used to designate persons or individuals. See *Acts 2:41; 7:14; 27:37; 1 Cor. 15:45*, etc.

Again, it is objected that only the martyrs are spoken of in this passage.

But this is a mistake. Read the first part of verse four again: “And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and Judgment was given unto them.”

Nothing is said here about the resurrection of these. And why not? Because they had been raised long before, at the Rapture of the church. *1 Thes. 4:13-18; Rev. 12:5*.

They had escaped the great tribulation. *Lu. 21:36; Rev. 3:10*. They had been married to the Lord and came with Him to overthrow Satan and his empire. *Rev. 19:5, 14*. And now they sit upon the thrones promised in *Mat. 19:28; Lu. 22:30*, and Judgment is given into their hands. See also *Dan. 7:9-28*. And who are these martyrs spoken of in the remainder of the verse? Why! they are the tribulation

saints, who will be slain under the reign of antichrist. Rev. 13. See how plainly they are described: "And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the Word of God, and which had" (note it carefully and compare with Rev. 13) "not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and *they* lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

"This is the first resurrection," that is, the completion of the first resurrection.

Christ the first fruits.

Then the great ingathering at the Rapture.

And now, these tribulation saints, as the gleanings, completes the first resurrection.

"And the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years are finished."

Men may interpose idle questions and conundrums; they may try to mislead us with flippant remarks and even ridicule; they may bombard this stronghold with subtle arguments and man-made conclusions; all to their own sorrow. But let *us* reverence the Word of God and heed the promise He gives us. "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word." Isa. 66:2.

Let us hold sacred and precious this book of Revelation, which begins and closes with a special assurance of blessing to those who keep the words of its wonderful prophecy.

This Scriptural doctrine of the Millenium cannot be shaken. Its root is in the *Sabbath* of Genesis; and its fruit is in the Thousand-year kingdom of Revelation. It shines throughout the Word of God as a glorious hope for the nations.

Shine on, O blessed Revelation of God, and the Lord stamp upon our hearts the warning that, "If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life."

THE PROPHETS

And now, let us reiterate the fact that this doctrine of the Millennium is taught all through the Word of God, from Genesis to Revelation. We have seen that it is God's great Millennial *Sabbath*; that it is his *Seventh* aion; that it is wrought into the great doctrine of the Resurrection, so that those who rise *from* the dead are separated by a *thousand years from* those who *stand* before the great white throne. That it is intertwined with all the teaching concerning the Kingdom, as the period when Israel, according to the Scripture, shall repossess their land and enjoy the restored Theocracy.

In short, Scripture prophecy is a progressive revelation of the coming Messianic Kingdom.

The seed of the woman (Gen. 3:15) is limited to Noah (Gen. 5:29), to Abraham (Gen. 12:3), to Isaac (Gen. 17:19), to Jacob (Gen. 27:33), to the tribe of Judah (Gen. 49:8-10), to David's House (2 Sam. 7:8-16), to a virgin of whom the Son, Immanuel, should be born (Isa. 7:14), who should have the throne of His father David and rule over the house of Jacob for *the aions* (forever). Lu. 1:32-33.

The earlier prophets seem to have seen but one end of Gentile times and then the Messianic Kingdom.

For instance, Moses in Lev. 26 tells of the punishments upon Israel and the desolations of their land for the great period of *Seven Times* and then Israel's repentance and God's remembrance of His covenant and the Land.

In Deut. 31 and 32 Moses again depicts the rebellion of Israel and what shall befall them in the *latter days*. (31:29; 32:20, 29.)

He speaks of death and resurrection (32:39), of Judgment (V. 41) and the overthrow of the enemy (V. 42), and then the rejoicing of the *Nations* and His *people*, when He will be merciful unto His land and His people. (V. 43.)

Note, that here are the same (eschata) last things, to-wit, resurrection, Judgment and overthrow of the enemy (Satan), preceding the *rejoicing*, as are given by John in Revelation, which precede the Millennium.

This is more distinctly set forth 800 years later by the Holy Spirit, through the prophet Isaiah. In chapter 24 he gives a picture of the awful judgments that shall come upon the earth, so that it "shall reel to and fro like a drunkard" (verse 20), and in *that day* "the Lord shall punish the host of high ones, on high" (verse 21), that is, Satan and his hosts (see Eph. 6:12; Rev. 12 and 19), as well as the Kings on the earth. And they shall be *shut up* in prison *many days* (verse 22). This *many days* corresponds to the *thousand years* of Rev. 20. The same *last things* precede it; and the same reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, follows it (verse 23), when the light, of the moon and the sun, shall not be needed for the Lord Himself shall be the light thereof. Rev. 21:24.

About 200 years later, in the prophecy of the *Seventy Sevens* (weeks) we get a glimpse of two ends. It is 69 weeks—483 years—to the coming of the Messiah who should be "cut off" and the city destroyed (Dan. 9:26), which brings the first end. Then follow desolations unto another end. Jerusalem is to be trodden down until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. Lu. 21:24. Then comes a covenant (Antichrist with Israel) for one week and then the overthrow of the desolator. From Dan. 2:44 and 7:14, 26, 27, we know that the Messianic Kingdom follows.

These two ends, of the aions, are shown, even more clearly, 150 years later, by the prophet Zechariah. The first is when the Messiah comes, just and lowly, riding "upon a colt" (Ch. 9:9), and the second, when He comes to stand upon the Mount of Olives causing it to cleave asunder. Ch. 14:4.

The first time He is wounded in the house of His friends (Ch. 13:6) and the second time, they look upon Him "whom they have pierced." Ch. 12:10.

At the first end, the chariot is cut off from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem, and the Messiah turns to speak

peace to the heathen. Ch. 9:10. At the second end, Jerusalem is again destroyed, the Lord God comes with all His saints (14:2-5) and becomes King over all the earth. (14:9.) Great changes occur in the land and Jerusalem is safely inhabited (verses 10-11) and there shall be no more utter destruction. All nations shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts and to keep the feast of tabernacles, and even on the bells of the horses (verses 16, 20) shall be

“HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD.”

These two ends, of the two aions, Jewish and Christian, were a puzzle to the prophets themselves. They were like the Holy Spirits' utterances of a suffering Messiah and of a King reigning in world wide glory and majesty. They could not reconcile them. Peter tells us that they “searched diligently”—“searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ—did signify when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow.” 1 Pet. 1:11.

It is just so to-day. An orthodox Jew, who still looks for the coming of his Messiah, cannot explain how He can come meek and lowly riding on a colt (Zech. 9:9), and also in the clouds of heaven. Dan. 7:13. He does not understand that He must come twice. One of the best arguments to convince the Jew that Jesus is the Messiah is to show him, that, as He has come once on a colt (Mat. 21:1-11), so, according to His promise (John 14:3), will He come again in the clouds of heaven. Mat. 26:64.

We point the Jew to the literal fulfillment of prophecy, by Jesus at His first coming, as a conclusive evidence that He is the Messiah:

Born of a Virgin. Isa. 7:14.

At Bethlehem. Micah 5:2.

Called out of Egypt. Hosea 11:1.

Sold for thirty pieces of silver. Zec. 11:12.

Spit on and scourged. Isa. 50:6.

Not a bone broken. Psa. 34:20.

Hands and feet pierced, Psa. 22:16, and many others.

How stultifying for us to deny the literal fulfillment of the multitude of passages, concerning His coming again, especially those which tell us that He shall have the Throne of David (Isa. 9:6-7; Lu. 1:32), that Israel shall be restored, Zion built up (Psa. 102:16), the apostles sit on twelve thrones, over the twelve tribes of Israel (Mat. 19:28) that His throne shall be in Jerusalem (Jer. 3:17), that He shall rule all nations (Psa. 2:8-9; Rev. 2:27), and the kingdoms of *this world* become His kingdom (Zec. 9:10; Rev. 11:15), that God will make an end of all the nations, but He will not make an end of Israel. Jer. 46:28.

In that wonderful passage in the prophet Micah (Ch. 4), concerning the *last days* and mountain of the Lord's House being established; and the people flowing unto it; and the law going forth of Zion and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem; we read (verses 6 and 7) of the restoration of Israel and "the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion from henceforth forever.

Just here, let us call special attention to the expression "*In that day*," Isa. 24:21. It is used about fifty times by this prince of prophets, as also by many of the other prophets. See Isa. 2:11 and the references. "*In that day*" evidently means the thousand-year day. It is "*the day of the Lord*." Isa. 2:12. Read carefully the context of the passages where it occurs, especially Isa., Chs. 2:4; 11:12; 24:25; 26:27; 28:29; 30:52, etc., and see how the events agree with the judgment, the overthrow of the adversary; and the reign of Christ and His saints as described in Rev. 19 and 20. Look also at the many passages which speak of the "Great Day," the "Day of Judgment," "Day of the Lord."

Oh! how can anyone read the Word of God and not see and accept its plain statement of this great dispensational truth of the thousand-year Messianic Kingdom?

SPIRITUALIZING INTERPRETATION

A method of so-called "spiritualizing interpretation" is often resorted to in order to eliminate from the Scripture teaching of the Kingdom, the King, the throne, the Jews and all literal earthly government of the race of mankind.

Texts of Scripture are quoted such as, "The Kingdom of God is within you," and "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation" (Lu. 17: 20-21), and upon these imperfect translations of the original texts, the superficial advocate proceeds to construct a kingdom after his own fancy, with subjects and territory ranging all the way from simply the Christian Church to the universe.

This he does in blind contravention of hundreds of texts, and the whole sweep of prophecy, which declares and assures, upon the oath of God Himself (Gen. 22:17; Jer. 31: 35-49), the restoration of Israel and a literal reign of the saints upon the earth. Rev. 5:10; Dan. 7:27; Amos 9: 11-15.

Such reasoning and conclusions are as forceful as the colored preachers' argument, who said he could prove that Jesus was a little man, *very small*, and that he could prove it from the Bible. When the text was demanded, he replied, with evident assurance: "Doesn't it say, '*Lo, I am*'?"

A moment's reflection will show the fallacy of using those texts, in Luke, to support the chimera of such a so-called "spiritual kingdom."

Did Jesus tell those wicked Pharasees that the Kingdom of God was *within* them? No, indeed! The correct translation is "*among* you," and that was literally true. The King was there. His disciples were there and He was ready to establish the Kingdom, had they been willing to receive Him. But, seeing they rejected Him, the Kingdom became like a nobleman who went into a far country to receive a kingdom and return. Luke 19:12.

Again, "not with observation" is literally "not with scrupulous watching." They would not need a microscope to find it, for it would appear like the shining of the lightning in heaven. Lu. 17:24.

Romans 14:17 is just as illogically quoted. For, while "the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink," it is definitely stated that we shall eat and drink in the Kingdom of God. Matt. 26:29; Mar. 14:25.

Of a similar character are the arguments built upon the parables, given to illustrate the *mysteries* of the Kingdom. Matt. 13:11. Our Lord says there *are* mysteries of the Kingdom. We live in an age (aion) of mysteries, an evil age. Gal. 1:4. There is the mystery of Godliness (1 Tim. 3:16); the mystery of iniquity (2 Thes. 2:7), the mystery of Christ (Eph. 3:4); the mystery of the Church (Eph. 5:32); the mystery of the Gospel (Eph. 6:19; Col. 1:26); the mystery of the blindness of Israel (Rom. 11:25); and the mystery of God. Rev. 10:7.

And though these mysteries are now made known, instead of being hid (Col. 1:26), yet they are still mysterious, "in which are some things hard to be understood" (2 Pet. 3:16), and we see them as "in a riddle." 1 Cor. 13:12, margin.

But some teachers profess to understand all about the Kingdom, and they tell us that the *leaven* (Matt. 13:33) represents the spread of righteousness in the world, instead of corruption, in the Church. In the numerous other passages where it is used it always represents corruption. See Matt. 16:6-12; Gal. 5:9. They tell us that the mustard tree (Matt. 13:32) shelters the righteous, whereas the birds of the air, which lodge in it, are likened to Satan himself, catching away the Words from the hearts of men. See Luke 8:5, 12. Such reasoning and methods of interpretation are equal to the sophistry of the Jewish contentions against the Messianic claims of Jesus our Lord.

God forbid that we should allow them to rob us of the glorious hope of the Kingdom, stated in plain and simple language, like the *Thousand Years* of Revelation Twenty.

LITERAL FULFILLMENT

The Bible is a peerless book, especially on the subject of prophecy. The Koran, the Vedas, the writings of Confucius, and the books of other great religions, express many lofty sentiments, and many excellent rules for human conduct. Even the "Golden Rule" was stated negatively by Confucius. But the Bible surpasses them all, containing the revelations of the true God and reaching that pinnacle of ethics, expressed in the simple words, "Love your enemies."

Mohammedans, Hindoos and Confucianists will all admit one feature of superiority in our Bible, and that is prophecy. Their sacred books can depict the state of "Nirvana," "the Western Paradise" and other blessings in heaven. This is easy, for no one can return from an investigation, to affirm or deny.

But when it comes to prophecy, concerning events upon the earth, events to be fulfilled in the history of nations, and the experiences of man in this life, they are all silent. But our Bible, the Word of God, triumphantly sets forth its supernatural origin, by definite and specific prophecies, concerning the affairs of this life.

We have already referred to several Messianic prophecies fulfilled in the first coming of our Lord. See pages 35, 39.

Over 500 years before the event, a prophet of Israel had set the price upon the Messiah at "*thirty pieces of silver*," and "cast them to the potter." Zech. 11:12, 13. Who could have been more desirous to have prevented this from becoming an evidence, to the claims of Jesus to be their Messiah, than the Chief Priests of the Jews? And yet, in their blind haste and madness, they actually covenanted with Judas for those exact 30 pieces of silver, and when Judas returned the money, they doubled the evidence by finishing

the fulfillment in buying the "*potter's*" field. Matt. 26:15; 27:7. Again, those coarse and brutal Roman soldiers, utterly indifferent to anything except their own personal advantage, divided his garments among them and cast lots for his vesture, the seamless coat, literally fulfilling the words of the Psalmist, uttered a thousand years before. Psal. 22:18. It was the duty of these same soldiers to break the legs of the criminals whom they crucified; and they did so to the two thieves. But, behold! when they came to Jesus, because He was already dead, they broke not His legs. Who but God could have foreseen such unexpected action and put into the mouth of the Psalmist, a thousand years before, those memorable words, "He keepeth all His bones, not one of them is broken." Psal. 34:20.

See also the "smiting" and the "spitting," which was to be on the "cheek" and in the "face," foretold by Isaiah, over seven centuries before it occurred.

There are twenty-five detail facts concerning the trial and crucifixion of Jesus recorded by the prophets from 500 to 1,000 years previously, which were all literally and exactly fulfilled on that one eventful day in Jerusalem.

How can one read these without "trembling before the WORD OF GOD?"

Cyrus, the king of Persia, was called by name, by the prophet Isaiah (Ch. 44:28; 45:1) nearly two centuries before he was born. Instead of accepting this as a marvelous evidence of the *literal* fulfillment of prophecy, the so-called "higher critics" endeavor to twist it into an argument for bisecting the prophet. We believe that God is pleased with all reverent, critical study of His Word, but we pity those who will surely meet His Judgment for their arrogant and presumptuous "destructive criticism."

This marvelous Bible, with its sixty-six books, written by forty-two authors, in such a perfect unity, as one book, that we are compelled to revere it, as the product of one controlling mind, the Holy Spirit of God, this Wonderful Word, is full of prophecies, similarly exact, about the people of Israel, whose very existence, scattered over the world

to-day, is a living witness to the literal fulfillment of its prophetic utterances.

And there are scores of other prophecies concerning the nations, cities, governments and even commercialism. We are familiar with the fulfillment of many of these in the history of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, etc., but we are apt to overlook those which pertain to our own times. Zephaniah 2:1-2 is being fulfilled in the present Zionist movement, in which the Jews are making a purely secular effort to regain Palestine. "Gather yourselves," says the Almighty, as though He stepped aside and let them exhibit the foolishness and calamitous results of their purely national movement. Dr. Herzl, their leader, is reported to have said, at the first congress in Basle, in 1897, "We must buy our way back to Palestine, salvation is to be by money." And one of the first speakers at that same congress said of the Sultan, "If his majesty will now receive us, we will accept him as our Messiah." It is a godless movement and the prophet tells us that it will bring upon them the "day of Jehovah's anger." Zeph. 2:2.

Over thirty-eight centuries ago God said to Abraham, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee" (Gen. 12:3), and this special divine protection was repeated to Israel, Abraham's seed. Gen. 27:29; Ex. 23:22; Nu. 24:9.

The *literal* fulfillment of this has been demonstrated in the history of the nations, with whom Israel has come in contact. We are inclined to regard this as all past and overlook its verification in our day. The most fearful calamity which the Jews have suffered, since the destruction of Jerusalem, was their expulsion from Spain, in 1492. Hundreds of thousands were driven out, under the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, spurred on by Torquemada, that monster of the inquisition. A recitation of the cruelties they suffered will make the ear tingle and melt the hardest heart.

But what of Spain? From her exalted position, with a prospect of being the first nation of Europe, she has gone down and down, losing all her South American colonies, and

other possessions, until Admiral Dewey one May morning shot off what there was left, and proud Spain is writhing upon her own peninsula, almost in the throes of anarchy. And what of Russia—mighty Russia—whose anti-Semitic hand has been so ruthlessly turned upon the congested millions of Jews in her borders? Are not her disasters and fatalities in the present war (1904) with little Japan another evidence that the God of Israel will curse them who persecute His ancient people?

If one wishes to see the prophetic picture of Russia's final overthrow, let him read carefully the 38th and 39th chapters of Ezekiel, in the revised version. The very names of the central divisions of the empire are given. Rosh, Mesheek and Tubal, *i. e.*, Russia, Moscow and Tobolsk. It is a remarkable picture of the mighty hordes of the *north*, which, *in the last days*, shall sweep down upon regathered and defenseless Israel, to meet an unprecedented destruction. Gomer (Germany) and all his bands are to be with them. This gives special significance to the present friendliness of Germany for Russia. O, Lands of the North, Beware! God Himself will fulfill His Word and protect His people.

"Thus saith Jehovah, the King of Israel, and His Redeemer, Jehovah of hosts: I am the first and the last; and besides me there is no God. And who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me since I established the *ancient people*? and the things that are coming, and that shall come to pass, let them declare. Fear ye not, neither be afraid; have I not declared unto thee of old, and showed it? and we are my witness. Is there a God beside me?" Isa. 44: 6-8.

Beloved! will not such a God *literally fulfill* those blessed THOUSAND YEARS in the twentieth chapter of Revelation?

QUESTIONS

Many questions arise about the characteristics of the Millennium, which are much more easily asked than answered. Questions in regard to the manner of life, food, apparel, abode, etc., of the raised and changed believers; and their relation to restored Israel, and the ordinary inhabitants of the earth.

Questions in regard to the methods of government and how the laws of the kingdom will be enforced.

Questions as to the longevity and consequent increase of population and fruitfulness of the earth.

Questions as to dates, "times and seasons," especially in regard to the definite time, of the six days, equal 6,000 years, to the beginning of the Millennium.

These, and many others, are promptly, and often boastfully asked, by opponents of the doctrine of the Millennium. They also cite passages of Scripture, some of which are, and others which appear to be, difficult to explain in harmony with the doctrine. Such for instance as Matt. 16:28. "There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom."

Matt. 24:34, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled."

They demand of us answers to their curious questions; and explanations of all the difficult passages, before they can accept this Scripturally founded doctrine of a Millennium.

This is both unfair and unreasonable. No man has yet been able to satisfactorily explain all the symbols, mysteries and wonders of the book of Revelation. But is that any reason for our rejecting its plain statements, and to destroy the hope and comfort which even its most enigmatical symbols give to the patient, toiling and often persecuted heavenward pilgrim?

As well might we justify the Jews in rejecting Jesus, because of the enigmas of Old Testament Messianic prophecy.

We accept and present the overwhelming Scripture proof of the Millennium, but we deny that there can be any just burden of proof on us to explain all the detail of such a vast and far-reaching subject.

Much can be understood now that could not, in the days of Israel's prophets. This is clear from 1 Pet. 1:10-12. Revelation has been progressive and so has interpretation. This has been peculiarly true in the past four hundred years. Every century since the Reformation has increased our understanding of prophecy. The present Zionist movement among the Jews is like the handwriting upon the wall, to those who will heed the "signs of the times." Lu. 21:25-28, and Ezek. 37:1-14.

Our God will make all to be clear in due time. All He asks of us is implicit trust and confidence in HIS WORD. "We walk by faith." Fulfilled prophecy stimulates us to expectant confidence as to the unfulfilled. So, while we lament, as frivolous, the queries of the curious, and reject, as unreasonable, the detail demands of the chatechist, we do recognize, as consistent and important, the propriety of reverent inquiry on the part of those who "tremble at the Word of God." Isa. 66:2.

It is often asserted that expositors of prophecy do not agree and therefore the whole subject should be shelved. How unreasonable! Such a method would shelve every doctrine of Scripture. The history of the church records a continuous, ecclesiastical battle, and that upon doctrines, like repentance, faith and works, baptism, foreordination, regeneration and sanctification, which pertain to our everyday life and experiences.

Then why shall we demand exact agreement upon a subject which sweeps throughout all the future?

The inconsistency of such opponents is glaringly emphasized by the total disagreement among themselves.

Agnostics, skeptics and infidels present us with a perfect hotch-potch of man-made theories and fanciful conclusions.

Post-millennialists and anti-millennialists are equally divergent in their so-called "*spiritualizing*" interpretations of prophecy. One who boldly asserts what the plainest Millennial text of Scripture does *not* mean, is frank to admit that he *does not know* what it does mean, and yet he says he knows "just as much about it as anyone else does." A convenient mixture, this, of negative positivism with positive negativity.

It is not surprising that such an one should be, as he says, "neither *pre* nor *post* but *anti*." He fails to agree with either of the two great bodies of prophetic students, Premillennialists or Postmillennialists. He is *sui-generis* in prophetic study.

Prophecy is like the view of a mighty landscape. Premillennialists are remarkably agreed upon the mountain peaks of the outlook, such as, the Return of our Lord, the Resurrection, the overthrow of Satan and his kingdom, the gathering of Israel, and the Millennial Kingdom. You will find no *destructive criticisms* among them. They venerate the Word of God and give it the most patient and *reverent critical* study. They recognize and affirm that we know nothing of the future, except as revealed in Scripture prophecy, and that only the Holy Spirit Himself can enable us to rightly interpret it. John 16:13.

Oh! how small we all are in the sight of Him, who hath given us His Wonderful Word. Isa. 40:15-17.

If the following, presented, we trust, in "humility and a contrite spirit" (Isa. 66:2) shall be of instruction, or comfort, to any who fear the Lord and think upon His name, the writer will rejoice.

EXPLANATIONS

"This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." Matt. 24: 34.

There are two explanations of this. One that "generation" designates the whole nation of Israel throughout their entire history. See Psa. 22: 30. "A seed shall serve Him; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation;" also Matt. 23: 36. "All these things shall come upon this generation," and verse 33, "Ye generation of vipers." "All these things" evidently cover and include the entire preaching of the Gospel to Israel (see verse 34); the destruction of Jerusalem, the dispersion and regathering of Israel. See verses 38 and 39. So that the pronoun "ye" and "your" designates the whole body corporate of Israel. Israel shall not pass away until all be fulfilled.

Another explanation is that the "ye" of Ch. 24 designates the whole body corporate of the church. Verses 1, 2, 33, etc. A generation was to come which would "see these things begin to come to pass." Lu. 21: 28. Mark is specific about "those days" (13: 24) and "then" (v. 26 and 27) and "when" (v. 28, 29), indicating that the "generation" which should specifically see "the abomination of desolation (v. 14) would see all these things come to pass, for the Lord would "shorten the days" (v. 20) and make "a short work * * * upon the earth" (Rom. 9: 28), when He shall "rise up to the prey." Zeph. 3: 8.

Surely either of these explanations is sufficient to make this text harmonize with the great body of Scripture truth concerning the Millennium.

"There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." (Matt. 16: 28.) Or, "kingdom of God come with power" (Mar. 9: 1); or, "kingdom of God" (Lu. 9: 27).

The explanation of these texts is clear and simple. Why,

within eight days thereafter the three favored disciples witnessed the transfiguration.

The *power* and *glory* of Jesus shone forth in overwhelming brightness. Moses and Elias, representatives of the Law, the Prophets and the holy dead, were there, the Disciples representing poor, blind Israel were there, Heaven was opened and God the Father shone out of the (shekinah) cloud; and His own voice established the divinity and authority of our Lord. Peter afterward bore testimony to it, as a manifestation of the honor, glory, power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2 Pet. 1:16-18.

"But of that day and hour knoweth no man." Mark 13:32, 33; Matt. 24:42; 25:13; Lu. 12:40.

A reference to the diagram will quickly make this clear. The Rapture, when the church is caught away to meet the Lord, in the air, may occur at any moment. We have *no date* for it. We are to live with "our loins girded" and our "lights burning" like unto men that wait for their Lord. Lu. 12:35-36. But the Revelation, when the church shall return to the earth, with our Lord, is a subsequent event and pertains especially to Israel and the nations.

Mark well, that this is not two comings, but only two stages or phases to the one coming. At the first stage the Lord pauses in the air, and, like a mighty magnet, draws the waiting ones up unto Himself. 1 Thes. 4:13-18. The meeting, the presentation of the bride (Eph. 5:27) and the marriage (Rev. 19:7) takes a period of time, the length of which is not known. It may be seven years, the last week of Dan. 9, or forty years, like the wanderings of Israel in the wilderness, or even more. We know not the time.

So we see how clearly the texts point to the uncertain time of our Rapture. May the Lord increase our watchfulness.

"My kingdom is not of this world." John 18:36.

"The kingdom of God is within (among) you." Lu. 17:21.

"The kingdom of God is not meat and drink." Rom. 14:17.

"Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God."
1 Cor. 15:50.

For remarks on these texts see page 41.

"The doctrine makes the gospel a failure."

"It disparages the work of the Holy Spirit.' "

"The gospel has not been preached in all the world."

For refutation of these, and other similar assertions, space compels us to refer the reader to the books "Jesus Is Coming" and "Satan, His Kingdom and Its Overthrow," published by F. H. Revell & Co., Chicago and New York.

Briefly, we may state here, that the Holy Spirit came, according to promise, to "reprove the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment," and, by His regenerating and sanctifying power, to win and prepare a bride (the church) for the Lord. John 16:8, etc. When He, as the hinderer of Satan, is taken away (2 Thes. 2:7) He will, quickly, like Abraham's servant (Gen. 24), catch away the church to meet the Lord in the air.

No one will call the gospel a failure, when we see the church, the body of the Lord, completed and glorified as a Holy Temple (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16) built for the habitation of God in the Spirit. Eph. 2:20-22, R. V. We shall then *all* understand why the Holy Spirit himself put that last hastening prayer into the mouth of the beloved John: "AMEN; COME, LORD JESUS." Rev. 22:20.

The gospel has already been preached in nearly all the world (oikoumene, habitable earth). Matt. 24:14.

Only God can decide as to when the witness is complete.

While the church remains, she should make the evangelization of the world the one work given her to do. It is simple obedience to the last command of the Master. Thank God! the task is nearly completed. Only Tibet, Afghanistan and the Soudan remain untouched, and even these have some testimony, and their closed doors are unlatching.

But, it may be that the witness will be finished, after the church is caught away, by the Tribulation saints and the two witnesses (Rev. 11:3; 13:15; 20:4), and "the angel flying in the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel

to preach * * * to every nation, kindred, tongue and people. Rev. 14:6.

“ TIMES AND SEASONS ”

And now we take up the delicate subject of dates. Certainly there are prophetic dates, “times and seasons,” in Scripture, and they all pertain to Israel.

Great disrepute has been brought upon the “blessed hope” of our Lords’ return by setting dates for it.

As we have before emphasized, the church has no date for the coming of our Lord. We only know that the Rapture precedes the Revelation. Whatever events indicate the approach of the latter, are signs to us that the Rapture is nearer. And this is assured to us. We are “to see the day approaching.” Heb. 10:25. See, also, 1 Thes. 5:1-6; Lu. 21:28. Even the oncoming apostasy is to stimulate us to watchfulness. 2 Thes. 2:3, 15; Lu. 18:8.

But Israel’s history is all pre-written and their “times” are measured.

God told Abraham that his seed should be strangers and afflicted 400 years. Gen. 15:13. There was 430 years from the covenant to the exodus (see Gal. 3:17), 400 of which was affliction (see Acts 7:6), and the deliverance was on the “self-same day.” Ex. 12:40.

Moses then gave them the great period of *seven times*. Lev. 26. Four times over he designates a punishment for *seven times*. Verses 18, 21, 24, 28.

From a comparison of the several passages, “A time, times and a half” (Dan. 7:25; 12:7), “forty and two months” (Rev. 11:2; 13:5), “a thousand two hundred and sixty days” (Rev. 11:3; 12:6 and 14), we know that a time is 360 days, that is, a Jewish year. See Gen. 7:11, 24; 8:3, 4. Five months equal 150 days, therefore 12 months equal 360 days. A time, times and a half equal $360 + 720 + 180$ equal 1,260. The Hebrew *Mohgehd*, a time, signifies the interval from a festival to its recurrence, that is, a year.

There are two views with reference to the fulfillment of these prophetic periods. The futurist, which construes them literally, as three and one-half years, to be fulfilled in the coming last week (Dan. 9) of Israel's history.

The historical view regards them as symbolical periods, which are being fulfilled, on the basis of "a day for a year."

Some hold both views, that is, a literal fulfillment in the future, during Israel's great tribulation, under antichrist, and a symbolical fulfillment on the year-day basis, as though the image of antichrist (Rev. 13:14, 15) cast his shadow backward over Israel's pathway.

These may be briefly explained as follows:

Futurists make no use of the "seven times" (of Lev. 26), but they do agree with historists, that the "seventy weeks" (of Dan. 9) cover 490 years of Israel's history.

The Hebrew term is seventy *sevens*. Futurists hold that these *sevens* stand for sevens of years and are therefore literally, 70×7 equal 490 years.

Historists hold that they stand for *sevens* of days, the ordinary week, and that they therefore are interpreted on the basis of "a day for a year."

Literally, the "*sevens*" stand for either *days* or *years*, but days is by far the most commonly understood. See Gen. 29:27, 28; Ex. 34:22; Nu. 28:26; Deut. 16:9, 10, 16; 2 Chr. 8:13; Jer. 5:24, where the same word is used. In Ezek. 45:21 and Dan. 10:2, 3, days are added, i. e., *weeks* days, in the original.

The historists also base their year-day interpretation on the Scripture statements, that with God a *day* is "as a thousand years" (2 Pet. 3:8), while with Israel a *day* stands for a year. Nu. 14:34; Ezek. 4:1-6.

THE SEVENTY WEEKS

These were to begin "from the going forth of the commandment to *restore* and to *build* Jerusalem." Dan. 9:25.

Four different decrees were issued:

1. By Cyrus, B. C., 536, which was only "to build the house"—temple. Ezra 1:1-5.

2. By Darius, B. C., 519, to continue the building of "the house." Ezra 6:1-12.

3. By Artaxerxes, B. C. 457. Ezra 7. At first sight this also seems to be only for "the house," but note that Ezra is to do whatever shall seem good to him (Ezra 7:18), and in his prayer (Ch. 9:9) he specially mentions the "wall" in Judah and Jerusalem.

This would indicate that the building of the city was included in the King's decree.

4. "Letters" were given to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes, B. C. 446, that he might go and "build" the city. Neh. 2:5-8. These letters seem to be merely authority to Nehemiah to carry out the decree of B. C. 457, and not a formal issue of a new decree. Beginning with this date, 457 B. C., the 69 weeks,— 69×7 equal 483 years,—run to A. D. 26, when Jesus, who was born B. C. 4, was in His thirtieth year, or accurately, to His baptism, when He was "anointed" by the Holy Spirit, and announced by God to be His Son. Matt. 3:13-17.

This remarkably literal fulfillment of the prophecy ought to have convinced the Jews that Jesus was the promised Messiah.

After the 69 weeks, Messiah (the anointed) was to be "cut off" (Dan. 9:26), and then the city was to be destroyed and war was to continue "*to the end.*"

This is held to cover the whole Christian dispensation, during which the Jews are scattered throughout the world. It

is the same as the "many days" of Dan. 11:33. See this "time of the end," Ch. 11:35, 40; 8:17, 19.

Then comes the seventieth week, or last seven years. In this, a covenant is made between Israel and the antichrist. It is not the covenant with Christ (Isa. 42:6; 55:3) for it is made with one who comes "upon the wing of abominations." Dan. 9:27, R. V.

It is called by Isaiah a "covenant with death" and an "agreement with Sheol." Isa. 28:18.

In the midst of the week, antichrist will take away the sacrifice and oblation (Dan. 9:27), and bring upon Israel their unparalleled time of trouble. See Dan. 12:1; Jer. with His church.

30:6-7; Matt. 24:21.

From this they are delivered by the return of the Lord

This last half of the seventieth week, three and one-half years, is the time of the fulfillment, according to the futurists, of the "time, times and a half," "forty and two months" and "thousand two hundred and three score days;" that is, each measuring 1,260 literal days.

As for the Historical interpretation of the fulfillment of the several periods to wit: the "seven times" (Lev. 26), the 1,260, 1,290, 1,335 and 2,300 days of Dan. and Rev., it is only necessary here to say, that they all terminate within the limit of the six thousand years.

These six thousand years measure from Anno Mundi, the year of the world, so called.

It is really from the year of Adam, that is, 130 years before the birth of Seth. Gen. 5:3.

According to accepted chronology, we are already in the last century of these six thousand years.

There is much uncertainty as to the true Adamic date. Some hold that a score or more of years should be added to the ordinary, Bishop Usher, date of 4004 B. C. If so, the expiration of the 6,000 years is that much nearer accomplished.

And now, let us again emphasize our previous statement, that we have no date for the Rapture. All dates pertain to

Israel's history. We would not be at all dogmatic in regard to them. On the contrary, we would commend that they be studied with great caution, and especially as to assigning the events which they may designate.

But we do believe they are sufficiently significant, in the light of Isa. 42:9 and Lu. 21:28, to stimulate us to great hopefulness and constant watchfulness, for "Now is our Salvation (much) nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent; the day is at hand." Rom. 13:11, 12.

There are many Scriptural signs corroborative of this, such as:

1. *The prevalence of Travel and Knowledge.* Dan. 12:4.
2. *Perilous Times.* 2 Tim. 3:1.
3. *Spiritualism.* 1 Tim. 4:1.
4. *Apostasy.* 2 Thes. 2:3.
5. *World-wide Evangelism.* Matt. 24:14.
6. *Rich Men.* Jas. 5:1-8.
7. *The Arbitration Tribunal.* 1 Thes. 5:3. And especially.
8. *Zionism.* The Reviving of Israel. Lu. 21:28-31.

God hath given us these, that we may be stimulated to "watch and be sober." 1 Thes. 5:6. One would be significant, but, when so many stand together in this our day, how important that we heed the warning.

THE PASTOR'S RESPONSIBILITY

There is a solemn responsibility laid upon the ministry of the church, regarding the subject of our Lord's return, the Millennium and kindred dispensational truths, which occupy so large a portion of the Bible. God by His Holy Spirit hath commanded them to "speak" of "these things" (Tit. 2:15), "wherefore comfort (exhort) one another with these words." 1 Thes. 4:18; 5:11.

But, strange to say, these subjects are almost entirely ignored. I have taken an expression in congregations, large and small, in all parts of our land, asking how many had ever heard a single sermon on the subject of our Lord's return, and I have been astonished to find that usually less than one-fifth could respond in the affirmative. A Methodist minister, in Florida, said he had never heard but five sermons on the subject, and he said he preached them all himself.

Now, as a result of this indifference to, or intentional elimination of, the subject, some irresponsible enthusiast comes along, preaching these truths. The people like to hear them and they flock to his services. Then he tucks on his tangents of soul sleeping, annihilation, restoration, time setting and other unscriptural adjuncts, by which he leads the people off into all sorts of fanatical vagaries, developing into Princism, Millerism, Dowieism, Mormonism and the like:

Oh, brethren in the ministry! heed the warning. *You are responsible* for these things. If you would conservatively preach these truths, with a frequency and emphasis proportional to their importance in the Scriptures, you could save the people from these tangents and fanaticisms, which are flooding the land. It is idle to taboo these subjects. They are part of the Word of God, the "*meat*" which is to be given "in due season." Matt. 24:25.

Preach them. Preach the Word. Preach these things. Rightly divide the Word of Truth (2 Tim. 2:15). Give "the meat in due season" and receive the promised reward: "Blessed is that servant, whom the Lord when He cometh shall find so doing." Lu. 12:43.

————— 1918 —————

And now in this new edition, after fourteen years of the world's history, culminating in the present, unprecedented tragic conditions, let me again implore you, Oh, my Brethren in the Ministry, to heed the foregoing admonition. .

God's rebuke of the nations Isaiah 17:12-14; the dashing in pieces of Psalm 2:9; the smiting of the Image, Daniel 2:34-5; the sudden destruction of 1 Thes. 5:3, I do believe are all, as one event, immediately impending.

What will you say to the King of Kings, our Lord Jesus Christ, when He appears, if you refuse to obey the divine injunctions, "THESE THINGS speak;" "Comfort (exhort) one another with THESE WORDS?"

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4

A DESCRIPTION OF
THE MERRYMOUNT PRESS
BOSTON
1893-1917



A Description of
THE MERRYMOUNT PRESS
232 Summer Street
Boston

THE Merrymount Press was begun by Mr. D. B. Updike in the year 1893. It was then a Press in name only, as its actual mechanical work was done by other printers, the style of its work alone being arranged by Mr. Updike. About a year after this experiment was tried, type was acquired in small quantities, and a single fount was cut for the Altar Book issued by Mr. Updike and the late Harold Brown of Rhode Island. The type of this volume was set up in a small dingy work-room, rented for the purpose, at the back of some warehouses opposite the South Station, — to be exact, at the corner of Estes Place and Aldine Street. The office of the Press was then at 6 Beacon Street, in the build-

ing, since torn down, which stood at the corner of Tremont Place. Later the Press was moved to the first floor of a pleasant old house in Tremont Place, formerly occupied by the Winthrop family; and from there, needing larger quarters, to the house at 104 Chestnut Street, where the two lower floors were used as work-rooms and office, and the upper floor was occupied by Mr. Updike himself. Although the next house was later added thereto, these quarters finally were outgrown; and as the introduction of very heavy presses, necessary to increasing work, was impossible in an old building, the present situation at 232 Summer Street was chosen, and has been occupied since 1903.

The name Merrymount is derived from the ancient estate of a certain Thomas Morton, an Englishman, who with a company of friends emigrated to New England in 1628 and settled at Wollaston, near Quincy, calling his place Ma-re Mount, or Merrymount, a name still attaching to that neighbourhood. There he set up a May-pole, which is the emblem of the Press. One of Hawthorne's "Twice-Told Tales" has "The May-Pole of Merrymount" as its theme.

THE ANTE-ROOM

THIS room, which opens directly from the hallway, is used as the general office of the Press. From it two arched glass doors communicate

with the Counting-Room and the Reception Room. These doors, which are of *Directoire* style, were originally in the old Boston Museum Theatre on Tremont Street, and were then windows which opened into balconies overlooking that thoroughfare. On the right of the left-hand door is a framed "Specimen by Isaac Moore and Co., Letter-founders, in Bristol, 1766." This very rare sheet formerly belonged to the French author and bibliophile, Antoine Auguste Renouard (1765-1853), whose "*Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*" is still the standard book on the Aldine Press. This particular "specimen" is alluded to by Reed in his "History of English Letter-Foundries," where he says: "Renouard mentions a Specimen by Isaac Moore, Bristol, in 1768, of which he possessed a copy mounted on linen and which he describes as displaying '*caractères assez bien gravés, et imitant ceux de Baskerville.*'"

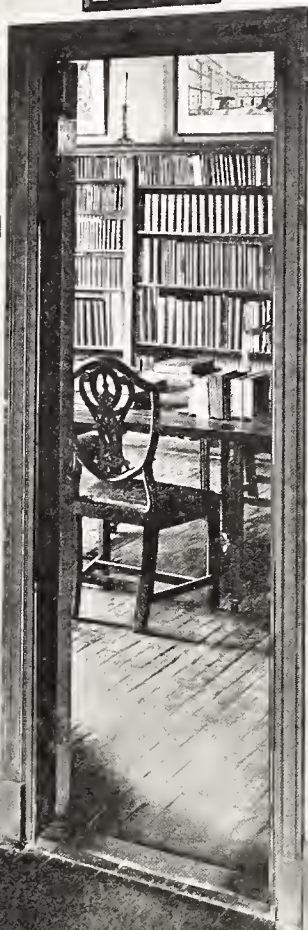
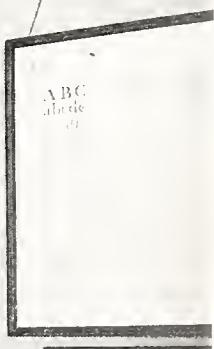
On the left of this door hangs a specimen sheet by Baskerville (also from the Renouard collection), issued about 1762, entitled "A Specimen by John Baskerville of Birmingham, Letter-founder and Printer." It contains eight sizes of types. The only other copy of it known is in the Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham. Beneath it is a rare specimen of the Phoenix Foundry of Myles Swinney of Birmingham, probably printed about 1802.

Between the windows is an announcement,

in French, of the sale of the Baskerville types, printed in red and black from Baskerville's characters. This, which was also the property of Renouard, is supposed to be unique. By the phrase "*vis-à-vis les ruines de la Bastille*," it was evidently issued in Paris *after* July, 1789. Mr. Ralph Straus, in his memoir "John Baskerville" (London, 1907), has reproduced this *affiche* in illustration of the later history of the Baskerville types. He believes that the sale to which it relates took place about 1800. Below this is a facsimile of the second type specimen sheet known: that of Johan Petri of Basle, issued in 1525, and discovered by the late Conrad Burger.

On the right wall, on either side of the door into the Reception Room are framed pages of a late Italian manuscript antiphonal on parchment (given by Mrs. Fiske Warren). Beneath one of them hangs a specimen sheet of "Joseph Fry & Sons, Letter-founders, Worship-Street, Moorfields, London, 1785," printed on both sides and framed between sheets of glass. Beneath the other music manuscript is a facsimile of the sale sheet of the Elzevir types, many of which were cut by Christoffel van Dyck. The original was issued in 1681.

Over the small service door is a mezzotint of William Strahan (1715-1785), the English printer and publisher, a friend of Johnson, and the publisher of his Dictionary as well as of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall;" a member



7-15-1888



of Parliament and King's Printer—to whom Franklin wrote from Passy, August 19, 1784: "I remember your observing once to me as we sat together in the House of Commons, that no two Journeymen Printers, within your knowledge, had met with such success in the World as ourselves. You were then at the head of your profession, and soon afterwards became a Member of Parliament. I was Agent for a few Provinces and now act for them all." This print is after the portrait by Strahan's friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and was executed in 1792 by John Jones.

On the right of the entrance is a specimen sheet of the letter-foundry of Dr. Alexander Wilson & Sons, Glasgow, 1783. Beneath it is a facsimile of the first known printer's specimen sheet of type—that of Erhard Ratdolt, issued at Venice (though dated Augsburg), in 1486. An eighteenth century English barometer and thermometer, by Corti of London, occupies the space on the left.

Over the other service door is a rare mezzotint of Jacob Tonson (*c.* 1656–1736), the famous London publisher. He it was who issued Dryden's poems, and was publisher to Pope, Prior, Addison, and Steele. He was secretary of the Kit-Cat Club, and this print, by Faber, was after one of the Kit-Cat portraits painted by Kneller.

THE RECEPTION ROOM

ON either side of the entrance door of this room are two prints after pictures by Poussin, engraved by Baudet, from a series of plates now owned by the Chalcographie du Louvre. These, however, are original impressions. Beneath that on the left is a print of Sébastien Cramoisy of Paris, appointed by Richelieu as first director of the *Imprimerie Royale* (d. 1669), and a document signed by him.

On the left wall is a print of Le Tellier, prefect of the *Bibliothèque Royale* under Louis XIV, after the picture by Largillière. Below is a portrait of d'Hemery (1722–1806), inspector of the French publishing trade. In the centre of the left wall is a glass case which contains various specimens of printing done by the Merrymount Press. Beyond it is a framed autograph letter of the celebrated Italian printer, Bodoni of Parma, written to the artist Rosaspina. And framed with it is Rosaspina's print of Bodoni inscribed *Amicus Amico*. Near it is a document appointing Pierre-Robert-Christophe Ballard as private printer to the Comte d'Artois, afterward Charles X, on his marriage with the Princess Maria Theresa of Savoy. It was signed at Versailles by Louis XV in September, 1773. This document is countersigned by Phelypeaux, Comte de Saint Florentin, a print of whom, from a painting by Tocqué finished in 1740, and engraved by the German

George Wille, resident of Paris, in 1761, hangs near by. Phelypeaux was secretary of state to Louis xv, and to him Louis Luce dedicated the frontispiece of his celebrated "*Essai d'une Nouvelle Typographie*,"* — a specimen book of types and ornaments which were bought by the *Imprimerie Royale* at the instance of Louis xv.

On the south wall of the room, on the left, above the *brevet* to Ballard, is a large engraving of Robert Ballard II (d. 1673), a distinguished member of this family, who were music-printers to the Crown, and whose catalogue of publications furnishes almost a bibliography of French printed music from 1552 to the middle of the eighteenth century.

On the right of the window is a photograph of the portrait of Baskerville now in the National Portrait Gallery, the gift of Mr. Emery Walker, associate of the Kelmscott and Doves Presses. In the same frame is an autograph of Baskerville, and a letter from his wife, Sarah, dated Birmingham, March 18, 1779, in which she alludes to sending a copy of Baskerville's *Sallust* to a purchaser. Beneath this is an engraving by C. N. Cochin, *frs*, of the *Imprimerie du Louvre*, and still lower an Italian manuscript indulgence of 1688.

On the fourth wall of the room, the centre of which is occupied by another of the doors

* A copy of this book is in the Library of the Press.

formerly in the Boston Museum, is a portrait of Frederic Leonard of Brussels engraved by Edelinck after Rigaud, and one of the finest engravings in the iconography of printing. Beneath this is a print after Lawrence's sketch of Horace Walpole (1717-1797), — "Elzevir Horace, as Mr. Conway calls me," — whose private press at Strawberry Hill connects him with the art of printing. Near it is an autograph letter from Walpole addressed to Thomas Astle, author of "The Origin and Progress of Writing," written from Strawberry Hill on August 5, 1785. The antique chest of drawers on this side of the room is filled with a collection of decorative engravings of considerable scope and importance, as well as many signed prints presented to the Press by their engravers from time to time. Upon it are two engravings—one of Walpole's printer, Thomas Kirgate, and the other of Louis xv. On the right of the door is an impression of a large diploma of the Royal Academy, designed by Cipriani and engraved by Bartolozzi. This diploma was granted to a water-colour artist named Edmund Garvey, and bears the autograph of Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy. As Garvey was only an associate of the Academy, the diploma was signed by Reynolds as President, and not, as in the case of the academicians, by the King. It is engraved in two pieces, the joining of the plates being concealed by an ingenious *trompe-l'œil*. Beneath, in a frame, are ten tickets





of admission to lectures at the Royal Academy, signed by Benjamin West, its President; Richard Cosway, miniature-painter; J. Nollekens, sculptor; Chantrey, sculptor; Stothard, illustrator and painter; James Fittles, illustrator; Northcote, painter; Flaxman, sculptor; Fuseli, painter; and Edward Ward, the historical painter.

The seventeenth century high-boy on the right of the entrance door contains a collection of French, Italian, English, and American wood-blocks, both old and new, used in the work of the Merrymount Press. The chief feature of its contents is a series of one hundred and fifty blocks, many of them cut by William and Thomas Bewick of Newcastle, about 1780, for the illustrations of "Select Fables."

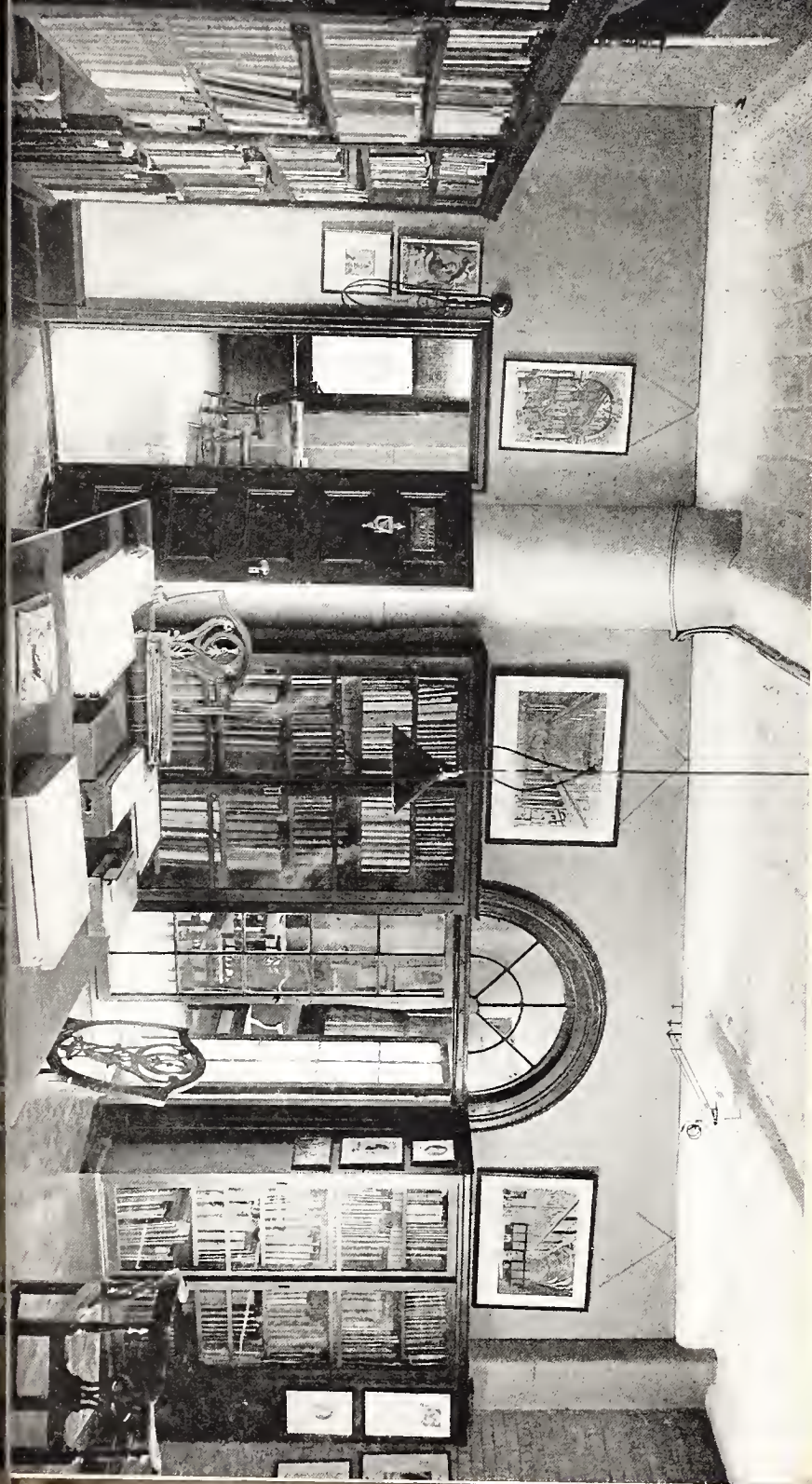
The fine English Heppelwhite chairs in this room are part of a set of fourteen, the gift of Mr. E. P. Warren.

THE LIBRARY

THIS is Mr. Updike's private work-room. On two sides are open bookshelves. The books printed at the Press occupy three compartments of the bookcases at the end of the room. The other compartment is devoted to volumes which for various reasons are of special interest in the history of printing,—including examples of the work of Jenson, Aldus, Tory, Ratdolt, the Estiennes, Bodoni, Baskerville, Didot, Ibarra,

Pickering, Morris, the Doves Press, the Ashendene Press, the Vale Press, &c. In the two glazed cases on the third side of the Library is a collection of books on the history and technique of printing, of considerable importance. The collection has been chosen with a view to the value of the book as part of a working library, and though small, it comprises some hundreds of the best works on the subject and some rarities, like the first edition of Moxon's "Mechanick Exercises," Paccioli's "Divina Proportione," &c. Many valuable books were purchased from a bequest from the late J. Montgomery Sears, Jr. (whose father was also a friend to the Press from its earliest days), and from the late Harold Brown. The early specimen books and specimen sheets include "specimens" of Bodoni, Didot, Unger, Fournier, Baskerville, Caslon, Wilson, Fry, Luce, Gando, Pierres, the *Imprimerie Nationale* of Paris, the *Imprenta Real* of Madrid, the Oxford University Press, and the *Propaganda Fide*, Rome. Many of these books have autograph letters inserted in them or autograph inscriptions; for instance, the "Manuale Tipografico" of Bodoni contains a letter from his widow announcing its completion; the Didot specimen, autograph verses by Didot addressed to the Debures; in a copy of Bernard's "Life of Tory" six letters of Bernard are inserted, &c. Among other curiosities is a copy of the Lord's Prayer in 165 languages, printed by Bodoni, this

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copy being the one given to Firmin Didot by Eugène Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy.

The inscription on the weatherbeaten wooden panel at the back of the room above the bookcases, was the sign formerly on the outside of the Press in Chestnut Street, and was designed by Mr. Bertram G. Goodhue, the architect. In front of it is a bust of Sir Robert Liston, English Minister to the United States, the gift of the late Charles Eliot Norton, one of the warmest friends of Merrymount. On the central support of the bookcases is an inscription in memory of two friends of the Press, the late John Nicholas and Harold Brown; the latter enabled Mr. Updike to undertake the issue of an *Altar Book*, which first brought the establishment into notice. Beneath this are four medals, (1) in honour of William Blades, the authority on Caxton; (2) of Senefelder, the inventor of lithography; (3) of Franklin, by Dupré, with the familiar inscription attributed to Turgot; and (4) of the Italian printer, Bodoni of Parma. Over the two service doors are decorative architectural prints designed by Bibiena. Beside each door are engraved portraits of Francis Junius (1589-1677), benefactor of the University Press, Oxford, to which he gave punches of Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, Runic, and "Icelandic" types, and Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who presented the "Fell types" to the University Press in the seventeenth century. Near the corresponding door are prints of Richelieu,

Founder of the *Imprimerie Royale*, and Francis I, patron of Garamond. On the right side of the room, over the bookcase, are prints of the vestibule of St^a Maria Maggiore and the Cortile di Belvedere, showing the *Biblioteca Vaticana*, where the first *Stamperia Vaticana* (established by Sixtus v in 1587) was placed, after G. P. Panini; and a portrait of Carlos III of Spain, patron of Ibarra and Bodoni. The inlaid Spanish cross which hangs on a pillar near by was formerly in the sacristy of Burgos Cathedral. On the left side of the room hang two more prints after Panini, of the interior of St^a Maria Maggiore, and of the Sistine Chapel (the latter the gift of Miss Amy Lowell). On the side of the glazed bookcase is a portrait of Archbishop Laud, whose intended benefactions of learned types for a learned press were (with his own head) cut off untimely! The eighteenth century terra-cotta medallion of Franklin opposite is by G. B. Nini. Beneath are other "Frankliniana." On the wall toward the street hangs a remarkable print of Denise Camusat (d. 1675), daughter of Jean Camusat and wife of Pierre Le Petit, both printers to the French Academy; of Tardieu, the engraver, after a drawing by Ingres, engraved by Henriquel-Dupont; and of Beaumarchais, printer of the monumental Kehl edition of Voltaire, engraved by St. Aubin after Cochin. Above it, in a frame, is a bill for printing in the handwriting of Samuel Richardson,

the novelist, rendered to A. Millar, the publisher; an item in it being Richardson's own novel, "Sir Charles Grandison." In the same frame is an aquatint of Richardson reading "Grandison" (to what Walpole called his "petti-coterie") in his uncomfortable-looking "grotto." On the edge of the bookcase above is another of the books mentioned in the account, "The Art of Tormenting" (the gift of Mrs. S. Van Rensselaer Thayer). On the corresponding wall on the opposite side of the room are framed manuscripts, &c., of personal interest to Mr. Updike. Among these are a certificate of membership in the American Antiquarian Society, signed by Isaiah Thomas, and an eighteenth century document admitting a French printer to the University of Paris in 1762.

The eighteenth century furniture in the room is American. The beautiful bamboo Chinese reclining-chair, formerly belonging to the Randolph family, was the gift of the late Miss Elizabeth Lyman Randolph.

PROOF-READERS' ROOM

THIS room is devoted to the use of the Correctors of the Press,—to use the quaint term anciently employed. On the left wall is a bust of Shakespeare, formerly at Shady Hill (the gift of the Misses Norton), and behind it an eighteenth century map of Naples. In the corner, on

the wall toward the street, are the well-known circular print of Plantin (a gift from the curator of the Plantin Museum, Mr. Max Roos); a photograph of the room devoted to the Correctors of the Press in the Plantin establishment at Antwerp; and a small print of Justus Lipsius, Corrector of the Press. Near by a print of Balasar Moretus of the Plantin-Moretus family and *Le Bonheur de ce Monde*, printed at the Plantin Press from ancient types (the gift of Miss Beatrix Jones), complete this group of "Plantiniana."

Between the windows is a small allegorical print, "Imprimerie" (from the second volume of Fournier's "Manuel Typographique"). Further on is a portrait of Charles I, engraved by Sir Robert Strange in London in 1770, after the picture by Van Dyck. It is considered one of Strange's masterpieces, and was the gift of Mrs. Wharton, the novelist. Next is an interesting map of Rhode Island, published in 1795 by Messrs. Carter & Wilkinson of Providence, who were printers there in the eighteenth century—John Carter being an ancestor of the founder of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence. This copy was found by the Rev. Daniel Goodwin among the papers of his ancestor, Mr. Wilkinson. It is the gift of Dr. Goodwin. In the corner is a signed portrait of Charles Eliot Norton, engraved by Kruell (the gift of Miss Sara Norton). Below hangs a copy of a French table for correcting proofs, published at Paris in



1817. A caricature from "Punch," referring to Mr. Roosevelt's attempt to change English spelling (the gift of the late T. Shaw Safe), and a portrait of the late John C. Gray, who was a valued friend, stand on the bookshelves.

On the glass screen separating the proof-room from the composing-room are prints of some famous dictionary makers, namely, Worcester; Florio, Latin reader to Queen Anne and compiler of the first English dictionary; Baret, the compiler of eighteenth century Spanish-English and Italian-English dictionaries; and Noah Webster, with his autograph. Further on are prints of Samuel Johnson and the Greek scholar, Richard Porson, together with a letter written by him from Eton, on September 17, 1789, to Dr. Beloe, in which a Greek word occurs. The Greek type commonly called "Porson" was named in honour of this eccentric man. Over the door is a print by Bartolozzi inscribed to Thomas Brand Hollis.

THE COMPOSING-ROOM

THIS long and narrow room is filled with compositors' cases, a proving-press, imposing-stones, &c., &c. Over the green baize door leading into the proof-room is a plaster relief of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child; after Luca della Robbia. On each side are two curious old Flemish sconces of engraved brass, which (accord-

ing to a custom of twenty years' standing) are lighted on Christmas Eve and certain "gaudy days."

The right wall of the room is hung chiefly with engraved portraits, but the first frame on the right contains a piece of Spanish printing on yellow silk. It is a memorial of a mission preached at Saragossa in 1757. The centre is printed from type, the border from wood-blocks, and the portrait of St. Peter Nolasco from a copperplate. Above the service door is a specimen page from the Kelmscott edition of Chaucer, a gift to the Press from Mr. Douglas Cockrell. Beyond is a portrait of William Morris, the printer-poet, the gift of his associate, Mr. Emery Walker, and below it a portrait of Mr. Walker himself.

Beyond the door the screen separating the composing-room and press-room is divided into four glazed partitions, and on the supports of these partitions are hung a very interesting series of engravings illustrating the history of printing. On the first bay are prints of Antoine Vitré, printer to the King and a famous type-cutter, after a portrait by Philip de Champagne; of Jean-François Rosart, the inventor of modern music types; of William Caslon, a view of his foundry, and a rare print of Mrs. Caslon, who for some years successfully conducted the business of this famous house. In the picture of the interior of the Caslon foundry, the figures at the window



are those of Jackson and Cottrell, both of whom afterwards established foundries of their own. The children at the table in the middle are breaking off "jets" from the newly cast type. Nearby is a print of Joannes Enschedé (b. 1708), of the celebrated firm of Haarlem letter-founders, and another of the type-cutter, J. M. Fleischmann, so much employed by Enschedé, and an eighteenth century view of the interior of the Enschedé foundry. Prints of Bodoni and Baskerville, who both designed their own types, and of Joseph Jackson and the Caslon foundry as it is to-day, finish the group.

The next bay of the screen contains more engraved portraits, namely, Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy (1642-1687), director of the Royal Printing House of France; Aldus Manutius, engraved by St. Aubin; a view of the Coster Statue at Haarlem and figures of Coster and Junius; Paul Manutius, a companion print to that of Aldus and by the same engraver; Pierre Guillaume Simon, printer to the Parliament of Paris, 1722-1741, engraved by St. Aubin; and Robert Estienne.

The next bay contains the following prints and autographs: Béranger, the printer-poet; Jules Claye, the enlightened Parisian printer, with a letter in his handwriting; Christopher Oberkampf, printer of decorated linens, or *toiles de Jouy*, whose charming products were made fashionable by royal favour in the reign of

Louis XVI ; Ambroise Firmin Didot ; Le Mercier, the lithographer, after Deveria ; a print of Firmin Didot, with a letter as director of the *Imprimerie Impériale* ; and one of Balzac, who (though it is generally forgotten) was for a time a printer.

The next bay contains seven more engraved portraits, mostly English. The first is that of William Blades, the learned biographer of Caxton ; the next that of William Bowyer, "the learned printer," who is described on this engraving as *Architectus verborum* ; and a portrait of William Bulmer (1757-1830) of the Shakespeare Press. Further along is a print of Benjamin Franklin, designed by Cochin and engraved by St. Aubin ; a portrait of Isaiah Thomas ; and a photogravure of Beach's bust of Theodore De Vinne. At the end of the row is an autograph letter from Sarah Goddard, one of the first women in the American Colonies who published a newspaper under her own name. A portrait of her son, William Goddard, ancestor of the Rhode Island family of that name, is hung near it. Mrs. Goddard, an amusing person of considerable attainments and energy, was the daughter of Lodowick Updike (1646-1736) of Rhode Island. Below are portraits of Johann Breitkopf, music printer of Leipzig, and of A. A. Renouard.

Next to the door leading into the press-room are prints of the Ballantyne Press, and of the hand-press on which Scott's novels were printed,

and portraits of the two Ballantynes, James and John.

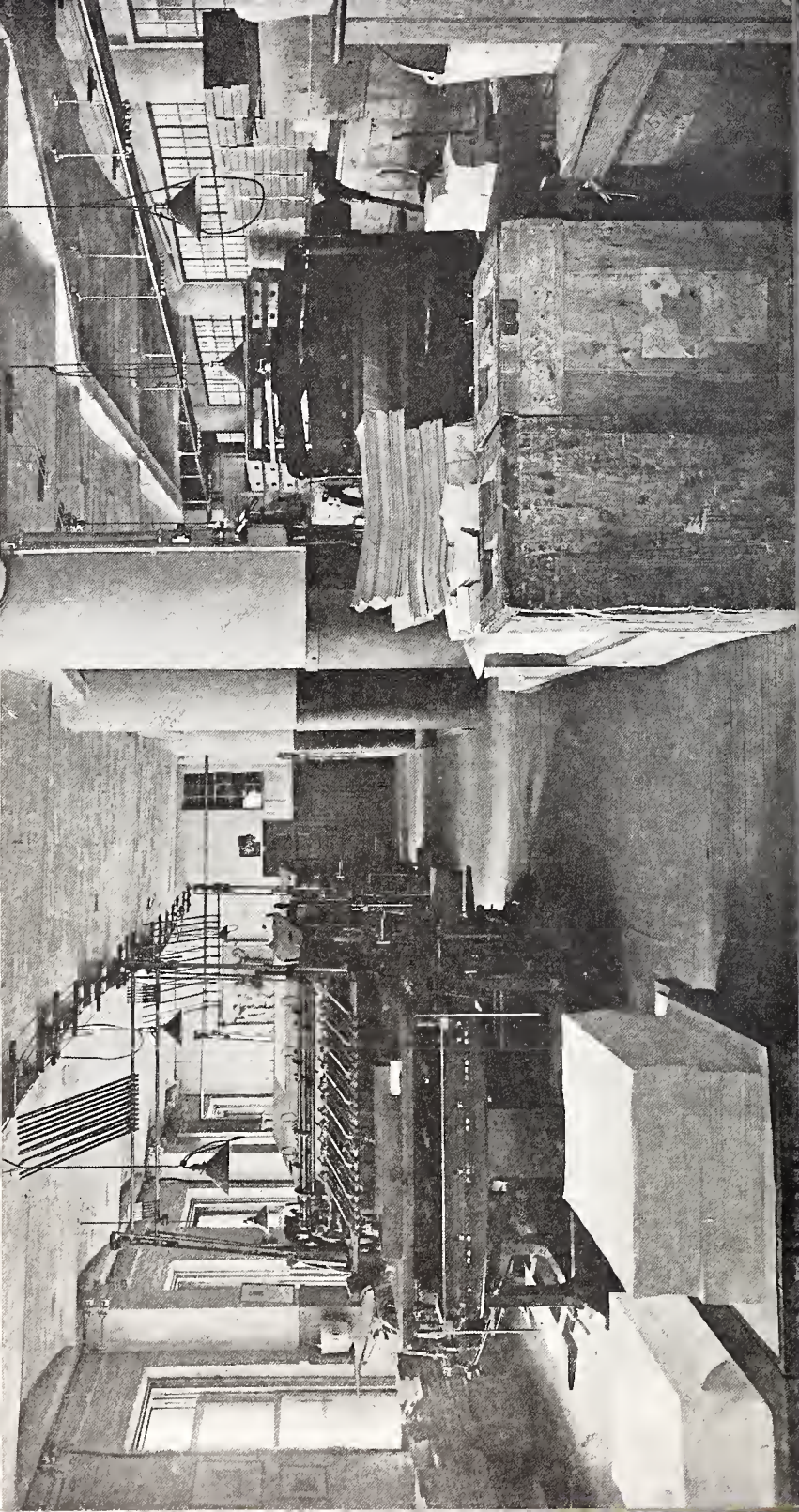
On the opposite wall is a map of the environs of Paris, made for the *Académie Royale des Sciences* in 1674, and engraved on twelve plates, printed separately and mounted. Here also are prints of John Boydell of the Shakespeare Press, from the picture by Gilbert Stuart; of John Murray, the publisher; of Samuel Richardson; and of Mr. De Vinne (his gift).

Between the windows on the other side of the room are a series of framed specimen sheets of considerable value. Most of these are French, and came chiefly from the typographical collection of Renouard. The first one shows the titling letters of L  ger, the type-founder, nephew and successor of Didot, printed some time after 1806. The next sheet is that of Andr   Gill   of Paris. The third is from the foundry of Delalain and Boucher of Paris, — a particularly fine specimen sheet, surrounded by a brilliant border. The next is a specimen sheet of *Cara  t  res d'  criture* from the same house. Between the next two windows is a cast of the lion of St. Mark, holding a book. Further along is a Latin inscription in honour of stereotyping, produced by L. S. Herhan in Paris in 1801. Herhan was associated with the Didots in early experiments in stereotyping. The "lay-out" for this inscription, probably in the handwriting of Herhan, is framed with it. Still further on is another

fine specimen sheet of *Caractères d'Ecriture*, from the Parisian foundry of Léger. Beneath the larger specimen hangs an interesting picture of the Court of the Louvre, taken during the exposition of the products of French industry held in the complementary days of the year ix, for which the inscription commemorating stereotyping, by Herhan, was printed. In the library of the Press are several sheets showing the progress of stereotyping, which were also displayed at this exposition. The next large specimen sheet, with an extremely effective border, is that of the foundry and printing-house of Gillé *fils*, of Paris. On the same wall hangs a framed leaf from William Caxton's "Diſtes and Sayings of the Philoſophers" (first edition), printed by him in what is known as Caxton's type 2, in 1477—the earliest English book bearing a date and place of printing—the gift of Mr. E. P. Warren.

The glass screen between the composing-room and proof-readers' room is hung with prints of men connected with the four great Polyglot Bibles of the world. The prints from right to left are as follows: 1. Cardinal Ximenez, promoter of the Complutensian Polyglot, 1520 (engraved by Edelinck); 2. Christopher Plantin, printer of the Antwerp Polyglot, 1572 (engraved by Goltzius); 3. Arius Montanus, Court Chaplain to Philip II, editor of the Antwerp Polyglot; 4. Philip II of Spain, its promoter; 5. President Le Jay, editor of the Paris Polyglot





of 1646; 6. Antoine Vitré, its printer; 7. Brian Walton, editor of the London Polyglot Bible of 1657, which was printed by Roycroft.

The composing-room contains a valuable collection of types and ornaments. The Caslon types are cast from the original Caslon matrices, and many of the ornaments were refitted especially for the Press. In fact, almost all the founts employed are from their original founders and not the reformations, deformations, or transformations too easily obtained elsewhere. The few interesting founts special to the Press are all named after it, *viz.*: Montallegro, Mountjoye, Merrymount, &c.

The small room at the end of the composing-room has been fitted up as a lunch-room for such of the work-people as care to avail themselves of it. It is hung with prints of some interest.

THE PRESS-ROOM

THIS room, which occupies the remaining width of the building, contains five printing-presses, with stocks of printing-paper, plates, &c. A window to the north commands a varied view of Boston harbour. On the wall near by is an interesting old engraving by Basire of the Clarendon Building and the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford,—the basement of the Sheldonian having been occupied as a printing-house before the erection of the Clarendon Building, —and

a modern etching of the Clarendon Press. Between the windows on the east wall are hung views of famous Presses. Beginning at the lower end of the room is a print of the Pitt Press (University Press) at Cambridge, England, and beneath it is a cut of the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The next print is of the University Printing House, Oxford, 1832, engraved by Le Keux, and beneath it is a view of Hammersmith, which shows the Doves Press (indicated by a cross), the venture of T. J. Cobden-Sanderson and Emery Walker. Next comes a view of the quadrangle of the University Press, Oxford, and below it a print of the De Vinne Press, New York (the gift of Mr. De Vinne). Still further on are two eighteenth century prints of the Clarendon Building (University Press), Oxford, which took its name from Lord Clarendon, the copyrights of whose "History of the Rebellion" accrued for its erection. Beyond this is a view of College House, Chiswick, where the old Chiswick Press (presided over by the Whittinghams) remained until 1852; and a rare aquatint of the "Farm Yard and Printing House" at Strawberry Hill,—the "Officina Arbuteana," as Walpole jokingly called it (the gift of Mr. Lewis Hatch). Loggan's fine seventeenth century view of the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, is hung on the next space between the windows, and on the last is still another view of the Clarendon Printing

House, Theatre, &c. ; a view of the courtyard of the Plantin Press at Antwerp ; and a print of the Lee Priory Press, at Ickham, near Canterbury, established in 1813 by Sir Egerton Brydges. Back of the two small presses is an impression of Van der Meulen's engraving of Bethune in Artois. Beneath it is a view of the Mission Press connected with the Mission of St. Mary the Virgin, Sagada, P. I., worked by Igorots (the gift of its director, Fr. Stanton). On the left of the Van der Meulen print are some verses (Epitaph on a Canary Bird) printed at the Strawberry Hill Press, with an impression from Walpole's book-plate ; on the right hangs an etching by Webster of the Rue St. Jacques, a street devoted to industries connected with the book since printing was first practised in Paris. Over the door is a print of the President of the United States, surmounted by a little flag made of the pieces left over from a silk banner presented to the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment by the ladies of Worcester during the Civil War.

THE COUNTING-ROOM

THIS room is occupied by the junior partner of the firm, Mr. John Bianchi. It is hung with five prints of Roman buildings, &c., by Piranesi, the one of St^a Maria Maggiore being from the original edition of Piranesi's etchings, — the gift of Mr. George Dorr. On the north wall

is an eighteenth century French engraving of Allegrain, engraved by Klauber. On the east wall hang three very imposing folio engravings of printers to the *Académie Française*—J. B. Coignard I, after Pesne; J. B. Coignard II, after Voirieau; and P. A. Le Mercier, after Van Loo. The engraved sheet advertising Piranesi's plates, with additions in manuscript (probably in his own hand), hangs opposite—probably the finest advertisement in the world.

Leaving this room by an arched glass door, we reach the ante-room, and the circuit of the Press is completed. If its rooms seem agreeable to their purpose, it only goes to prove that the chief principles of printing—suitability and simplicity—may be applied to the arrangement of a printing-house as well as to more obvious fields for decorative endeavour



FINIS CORONAT OPUS

TWENTY FOUR
BILLION



BANKERS TRUST COMPANY
NEW YORK CITY

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

How America's contribution to the fifth year
of the war against the Teutonic autocracy may be
equitably shared by her 23,500,000 families

BANKERS TRUST COMPANY
NEW YORK CITY

“We will fight until the hour when the enemy comes to understand that bargaining between crime and right is no longer possible.”

“Tell the American people—
that we purpose to make war to the end—to the very end of the end.

—CLEMENCEAU

Foreword

IT is a satisfaction to all of us that the time has come when the results of the participation of our country in the great war are apparent to all the world. The conception and execution of our national plans justify us in feeling pride in our accomplishments, but we must not allow ourselves to fall into the error of complacency.

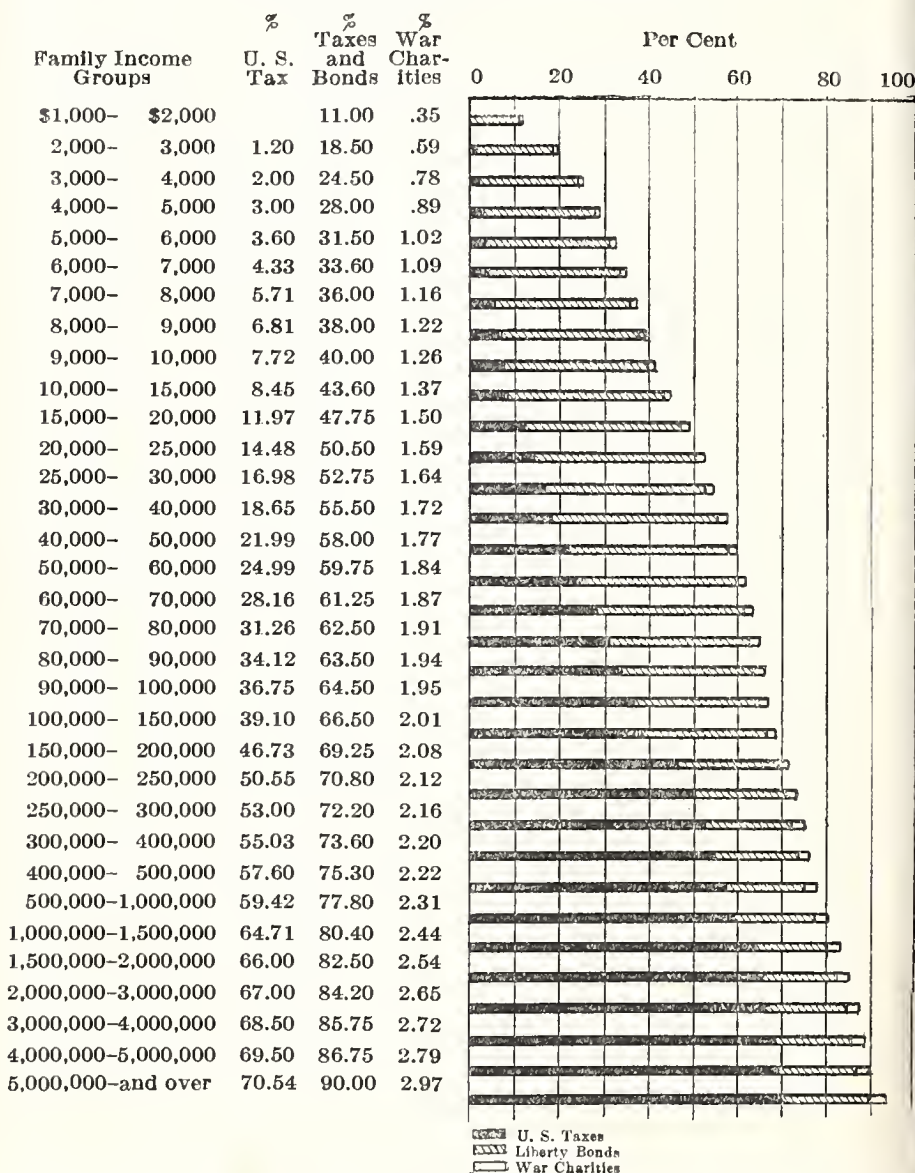
Our responsibilities are increasing and will continue to increase the longer the war lasts, and it is only through a thorough appreciation of the world's situation that we shall be able eventually to contribute our maximum effort to the cause for which civilization is struggling.

That we may better visualize this task, we present for your consideration certain aspects of the situation as it exists today, with the hope that every reader may be impressed with the importance of his own individual obligation.

BANKERS TRUST COMPANY

September 28, 1918.

Percentage of Specified Annual Incomes Contributable to Taxes, Liberty Bonds, and War Charities



The Antagonists

IN the titanic struggle which is now convulsing the world all former standards of economic strength have been discarded.

Of the estimated world population of about a billion seven hundred million human beings, there is scarcely a group which is not materially affected by the conflict.

This is truly the war of every man, woman and child of the nations involved, and not alone a war of military forces.

Nineteen nations, with combined populations of 1,145,000,000 are fighting for the cause of liberty, and five others with total populations of about 11,500,000 have severed diplomatic relations with the Teutons.

Four nations with combined populations of upwards of 146,000,000 are fighting under the leadership of Germany for the autocratic principle of government, which they hope to establish as a world principle with the German Kaiser as the supreme world autocrat.

Twenty-two nations with populations of about 152,000,000 have so far maintained a neutral attitude, while Russia, the great unknown factor, upon whose final alignment much depends, has around 182,000,000 people within her borders.

A roll call of the nations as to whether they favored the democratic or the autocratic principles of government

would bring the answer "for liberty" from the representatives of over seventy-two per cent. of the inhabitants of the globe, while only six per cent. would answer "nay."

The Cost

In Lives and in Money to Allies

The United States declared war on April 6th, 1917. To mobilize our forces and put the country on a war basis we expended up to the first of August last \$14,618,000,000, of which amount \$8,621,971,000 represented our direct war costs and \$5,996,515,000 represented loans to our allies, this for one and a third years of warfare. Up to the same date, after having been at war just four years, France had sacrificed to the cause probably 1,200,000 lives and had seen around 1,500,000 men incapacitated for military service, while she had expended about \$22,500,000,000 of which upwards of \$1,500,000,000 represented loans to her allies. Great Britain, her Dominions and Colonies in the same period lost about six hundred and fifty thousand of her men who yielded up their lives on the altar of liberty, while over eight hundred thousand more were permanently incapacitated for service. The money cost to Great Britain of the four years of warfare was \$34,687,000,000, including loans to her allies of \$7,835,000,000.

Altogether, it is estimated that the human cost of the four years of warfare to all of the Liberty Allies was about 4,500,000 men killed and in addition 5,000,000 men so injured as to be permanently incapacitated for service and that the money cost was just about a round one

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

hundred billion dollars. These figures do not include the loss of lives and the physical sufferings of the civilian populations of Belgium and northern France, of the inhabitants of the devastated districts of the eastern front, and of the Balkans; nor do they include the results of the unparalleled atrocities committed by the Turks upon the Armenians and their other nationals of the Christian faith. No one can possibly know what the sufferings and losses of these peoples have been.

In Ships

While considering those things which are behind us it will be of interest to note here that the gross tonnage of shipping lost since the war began, due principally to the activities of German and Austrian submarines, amounted to August 1st to 14,229,976 tons; on the other hand, German owned ships which have been seized by the Allies and put to use had a gross tonnage of 2,589,000 and newly constructed ships a gross tonnage of 8,986,266, a total offset to the above loss of 11,575,266 gross tons, making the net loss of tonnage 2,654,710. The money loss involved by the submarine activities may be roughly estimated at about \$7,500,000,000, about equally divided between ships and cargoes.

For three years of the war, that is until the third quarter of 1917 was reached, the shipping losses greatly exceeded the launchings, but at that time a turn for the better came and since then the adverse conditions have steadily diminished until in May of this year the launchings began to exceed the losses. The great ship building operations now

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being carried on should insure a steady gain in tonnage hereafter.

Losses of the Autocrats

It is a satisfaction to note that over one hundred and fifty German submarines have been sunk. It is believed that the destruction of submarines is now proceeding at a rate in excess of their new construction. The shipping of the autocrats has been swept from the seas; their foreign trade has ceased and may not be revived easily. Thanks to the vigilance and courage of the officers and men of the allied navies, the losses incurred in transporting troops to France have been very small. The German submarine warfare, while a disagreeable factor, is a failure from a military standpoint.

All these losses of men and property to the nations at war have been caused that there might be satisfied the lust for power and the unrighteous greed of the German people and their unprincipled although able rulers, who beginning with the "unscrupulous diplomacy of Bismarck" in the years between 1862 and 1890 had consistently and persistently been advancing their schemes for world domination until the day came in 1914 when they thought they could quickly and at a slight cost to themselves accomplish their nefarious purpose.

The Teutonic allies in the past four years have sacrificed the lives of possibly three and a half million men, have probably had more than that number wholly incapacitated for further military service and have expended in money at least forty five billion dollars.

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The following table will be found to be of much interest when studied in connection with the preceding paragraphs.

Military Cost of Four Years of Warfare

August 1, 1914 to July 31, 1918

<i>Sacrificed to the Cause of Liberty</i>	<u>Lives Lost</u>	<u>Permanently Disabled</u>	<u>Money Cost in Millions</u>
British Empire (exclusive of Canada, India and Africa)	600,000	750,000	\$ 37,000
Canada	40,000	55,000	1,000
France	1,200,000	1,500,000	22,500
Italy	600,000	750,000	8,000
Russia [Say to Sept. 1917]	2,000,000	2,000,000	26,250
United States [16 months]	<u>7,700</u>	<u>9,500</u>	<u>14,600</u>
Total	4,447,700	5,064,500	\$109,350
Deduct duplications due to es- timated advances between above Countries, less esti- mated direct costs for smaller countries			<u>9,350</u>
Net Cost to Liberty Allies			\$100,000

Sacrificed on the Altar of Autocracy

Austria-Hungary	750,000	850,000	\$ 13,000
Bulgaria	85,000	90,000	700
Germany	2,500,000	2,500,000	30,000
Turkey	<u>175,000</u>	<u>175,000</u>	<u>1,200</u>
Total	3,510,000	3,615,000	\$ 44,900

This table is based upon the best available data. Accuracy is impossible, as, for military reasons, many of the facts are not

fully disclosed. It should be remembered that the United States has been a combatant only since April 6, 1917, and Italy since May 24, 1915.

As an addition to the cost of the war to Germany should be placed the vast amount of material collected in years of preparation, and as an offset the booty seized and indemnities collected in Belgium, northern France, the Balkans and Russia.

The Present Situation

So much for the past. Now what of the present. After all, this is the important matter.

Man Power—Liberty Allies

The present alignment of the nations is about as follows: Nineteen nations actively allied for liberty have a nominal man power of over two hundred million men, with say 20,000,000 men actually in service or in training. It may be well to note here that the total number of men of military age is not available in any country for military service. Many will be found to be physically unfit and many others must be held at home for the performance of services which are more important to the cause than the men in question could render in a military capacity. However, if comparisons are made on the same basis the relative figures will be fair. The inclusion under the head of man power of the Asiatic and African dependencies of England and France may possibly be open to criticism, but in view of the fact that men of nearly every race and kindred and tongue are in the armies at the present time—and

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doing good and effective service—it is believed there is full justification for assuming that those not now in service could be enrolled if necessary with like good effect. The Liberty Allies enormous reserve of man power, therefore, is worthy of careful note.

Man Power—Autocracy Allies

It is estimated that the four nations allied in the cause of autocracy have a total present man power upwards of 32,000,000 men of whom 24,000,000 are in service.

After weighing the statements of the different authorities, the estimate recently made by André Cheradame of 11,000,000 effectives in Germany and 12,000,000 in Austria-Hungary and Turkey has been adopted in this pamphlet as probably nearer the real facts of the case than the accepted estimates of seven million effectives for Germany and perhaps as many more for the other autocracy allies. There is nothing to be gained by underestimating the strength of an enemy.

Hostile Teutonic Groups

But on the Teutonic side there is a vast number of Poles, Danes, Alsatians, Lorrainers, Jews, Italians, Czechoslavs and Jugo-slavs, aggregating over 43,000,000 people with perhaps 7,000,000 men of military age included in the above estimate of Teutonic man power, who, while still under German and Austro-Hungarian domination, are not in sympathy with the aims of their masters. It is believed that these men are ready to take their stand on the side

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of liberty at the first opportunity which offers, just as many of their compatriots have already done.

The attempt is being made by the Teutons to insure the military effectiveness of these 7,000,000 disaffected men by utilizing their services behind the lines and distributing those enrolled as soldiers through the ranks of the strictly loyal troops. The fact remains, however that this large percentage of the population of pan-Germany is an element of great potential value to the allied cause.

Russia

So far as man power is concerned the great cloud on the horizon is the disorganized condition of Russia, Finland and Poland and the other Slavonic groups heretofore parts of the Empire of Russia. These groups, having possibly 36,000,000 men of military age, possess great possibilities for good or evil to the cause of liberty depending on how they align themselves in future. In this connection it is encouraging to note that there are now in Russia some 150,000 Czecho-slav soldiers actively coöperating with the Japanese and American forces in an effort to save Russia for the Russians and for the cause of liberty.

Relative Control of Natural Resources

It will be of interest to note also in this connection that according to elaborate estimates made for the year 1913 by General Francis V. Greene the present Liberty Allies, not including Russia, controlled in that year 83% of the world's supply of iron ore, the Teutons 2%; the Liberty Allies 76%

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of the coal against 6% controlled by the Teutons; the Liberty Allies 66% of the petroleum, against the Teutons 2%; the Liberty Allies 63% of the standing timber against the Teutons 11%; the Liberty Allies 82% of the gold, the Teutons none; while the Liberty Allies had 68% of the world's wealth against the Teutons 19%.

The war has brought about some important temporary changes in the matter of the control of several of these basic raw materials. Germany's victories, which are now in process of being reversed, gave the autocrats control of the great coal and iron ore deposits of northern France and of Belgium, of the petroleum of Rumania and the wheat fields of Bulgaria.

Mistake to Underestimate Strength of Enemy

It is not possible in the compass of this pamphlet to weigh the other assets of the contending nations. While in men, material resources and money the Liberty Allies greatly exceed in strength the Autocracy Allies, still it would be a mistake to underrate the staying powers of the latter. With a considerable reserve of man power, with their own great agricultural and mineral resources, with the resources of Belgium, the Balkans and possibly of Russia also to draw upon, the Teutonic autocrats probably will have available sufficient men, food and other supplies to enable them to continue the war indefinitely. Recent events, however, have given us the belief that if the United States can deliver the full force of its blow in France within the next year, victory will be assured to the Liberty Allies before that year ends.

The Task

The Fifth Year of the War

The budgets of the Liberty Allies for the fifth year of the war call for the expenditure of around fifty billion dollars. Of this vast sum substantially all must be provided by England, France and the United States as follows:

Budgets

	<u>From Revenue</u>	<u>From Borrowing</u>	<u>Total</u>
England . . .	\$ 4,098,000,000	\$10,366,000,000	\$14,464,000,000
France . . .	1,585,000,000	9,802,000,000	11,387,000,000
United States.	8,000,000,000	16,000,000,000	24,000,000,000
Total . . .	\$13,683,000,000	\$36,168,000,000	\$49,851,000,000

Man Power

It is expected that over 23,000,000 men will be in military service on the side of the Liberty Allies. The peoples of the principal nations engaged on the side of the Liberty Allies may, almost literally, be said to be enrolled en masse to secure the success of the aims for which the Allies are striving.

Our own country alone is expected to have not far from 16,000,000 people directly engaged in war work, either in military service or in civil life engaged in providing supplies for the military forces.

By the census of 1910 there were 36,177,000 men and women 16 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations, so it will be seen that there is still a great reservoir of

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labor from which effective war workers can be drawn, especially when the fact is borne in mind that at that time only about 25% of the women and girls between these ages were engaged in gainful occupations, while nearly 91% of the men and youths between these ages were so engaged.

Women Workers

It is of great interest to note in this connection that the mobilization of women's labor in the warring countries has resulted in largely increased production industrially over pre-war times in spite of the loss of man power contributed to the fighting lines. This new status of women in the industries is one of the most important developments of the war.

Saving to Win

Let us remember again in considering our task for this year that wars are not fought with money but with men and the products of their work, just as they were fought in the days before money existed. Money is merely a convenient way of commanding goods and services and it is valueless if it cannot be so used. There are only so many goods and services in our General Store, and if we continue to buy for our individual wants in war time as we bought in peace time, we are competing against our Government for the labor and materials that it must have to carry on the war to success.

We must learn to think in terms of food, clothing, shelter and transportation and to deny ourselves in these respects

FINANCIAL HISTORY

For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1919 Estimated Average Share

GOVERNMENT WAR EXPENSE

Column I	II	III	IV
Family Income Group	Average Percentage Contributable by Each Family in Group	Average Amount Contributable by Each Family in Group	Number of Families in Group
*\$1,000 — \$2,000	11.00	\$209	21,375,000
* 2,001 — 3,000	18.50	518	1,375,000
* 3,001 — 4,000	24.50	931	246,950
* 4,001 — 5,000	28.00	1,316	144,050
* 5,001 — 6,000	31.50	1,795	75,440
6,001 — 7,000	33.60	2,184	51,780
7,001 — 8,000	36.00	2,700	37,021
8,001 — 9,000	38.00	3,230	26,945
9,001 — 10,000	40.00	3,800	20,340
10,001 — 15,000	43.60	5,450	57,080
15,001 — 20,000	47.75	8,356	27,699
20,001 — 25,000	50.50	11,363	15,540
25,001 — 30,000	52.75	14,506	9,585
30,001 — 40,000	55.50	19,425	11,880
40,001 — 50,000	58.00	26,100	6,565
50,001 — 60,000	59.75	32,862	4,200
60,001 — 70,000	61.25	39,812	2,930
70,001 — 80,000	62.50	46,875	2,030
80,001 — 90,000	63.50	53,975	1,600
90,001 — 100,000	64.50	61,275	1,200
100,001 — 150,000	66.50	81,795	3,190
150,001 — 200,000	69.25	120,495	1,400
200,001 — 250,000	70.80	159,300	780
250,001 — 300,000	72.20	199,994	450
300,001 — 400,000	73.60	253,920	490
400,001 — 500,000	75.30	337,344	250
500,001 — 1,000,000	77.80	531,374	390
1,000,001 — 1,500,000	80.40	889,224	100
1,500,001 — 2,000,000	82.50	1,403,325	45
2,000,001 — 3,000,000	84.20	2,070,478	35
3,000,001 — 4,000,000	85.75	2,966,092	15
4,000,001 — 5,000,000	86.75	3,915,895	10
5,000,001 — and over	90.00	9,255,000	10

FAMILY GROUPS—their estimated total income and required contribution

23,500,000

CORPORATIONS and other business enterprises—their estimated net income after dividend distributions of, say three billion dollars, and required contribution

Estimated Total National Income and amount realizable therefrom

BANKS—the share of the burden of the fiscal year's financing which they probably must carry, either by direct purchase of Liberty Bonds and/or Certificates of Indebtedness, or by loans thereon

Estimated receipts from direct taxation and bond sales

Estimated receipts from indirect taxes, such as customs, excise taxes, stamp taxes, including sundry receipts

COST OF THE WAR FOR THE FISCAL YEAR—estimated

THE WAR

Early Family Incomes Contributable in Taxes and Bond Purchases

		WAR CHARITIES	
V	VI	VII	VIII
Total Income of Families in Group	Total Contributable by Each Family Group	Average Amount Contributable by Each Family in Group	Total Contributable by Each Family Group
\$40,615,063,500	\$4,467,657,000	\$7.00	\$143,460,000
3,850,000,000	712,250,000	16.50	22,860,000
938,454,000	229,921,000	30.00	7,380,000
677,035,000	189,570,000	42.00	6,090,000
430,008,000	135,452,000	58.00	4,350,000
336,570,000	113,087,000	70.00	3,630,000
277,657,500	99,956,000	87.00	3,210,000
229,032,500	87,032,000	100.00	2,790,000
193,230,000	77,292,000	125.00	2,490,000
713,500,000	311,086,000	175.00	10,020,000
484,732,500	231,460,000	265.00	7,410,000
349,650,000	176,573,000	365.00	5,670,000
263,587,000	139,042,000	465.00	4,470,000
415,800,000	230,769,000	625.00	7,410,000
295,425,000	171,347,000	830.00	5,490,000
231,000,000	138,023,000	1,000.00	4,440,000
190,450,000	116,650,000	1,275.00	3,750,000
152,250,000	95,156,000	1,500.00	3,060,000
136,000,000	86,360,000	1,720.00	2,760,000
114,000,000	73,530,000	1,970.00	2,370,000
392,370,000	260,926,000	2,600.00	8,370,000
243,600,000	168,693,000	3,850.00	5,400,000
175,500,000	124,254,000	5,100.00	3,990,000
124,650,000	89,997,000	6,400.00	2,880,000
169,050,000	124,421,000	8,100.00	3,990,000
112,000,000	84,336,000	10,800.00	2,700,000
266,370,000	207,236,000	17,000.00	6,690,000
110,600,000	88,922,000	28,500.00	2,850,000
76,545,000	63,149,000	45,000.00	2,040,000
86,005,000	72,416,000	66,000.00	2,310,000
51,885,000	44,491,000	96,000.00	1,440,000
45,140,000	39,159,000	126,000.00	1,260,000
102,840,000	92,556,000	297,000.00	2,970,000
\$52,850,000,000	\$9,342,769,000	Estimated Requirement	\$300,000,000
7,150,000,000	6,000,000,000†	HOW TO USE THE TABLE Find your income group in Column I. Multiply your income by the "Average percentage contributable" in Column II. The result is your family's total quota for the fiscal year. Deduct the amount payable in Federal taxes. The remainder is your family's quota of Liberty Bonds, War Savings or Thrift Stamps.	
\$60,000,000,000	\$15,342,769,000		
.	5,157,231,000		
.	\$20,500,000,000		
.	3,500,000,000		
.	\$24,000,000,000	*Included in these groups is the income of wage earners other than family heads. †The corporations will contribute four billion dollars in taxes; they are expected to be able to buy one billion dollars bonds from net profits and, for temporary investment, one billion dollars bonds from unexpended renewal reserve funds.	

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so that our armies and those of our Allies and the peoples of the allied nations may have the essentials of life and of warfare.

The man who buys a Government security through savings helps finance this war doubly; first, by loaning money; secondly, by releasing goods and services. Even after we have provided the Treasury Department with twenty-four billions of dollars, the Government's program will be defeated unless there goes hand in hand with the contribution of money the necessary contribution of labor and material which the Government must have to use the money to advantage.

This gospel of saving was summed up in the solemn injunction which the President laid upon all of us on April 15th, 1917:

"Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring."

The man who made shoes for us, must now make shoes for the Government; the man who made cloth from which our clothes were made, must now turn his entire product over for the use of army and navy. We must deny ourselves the purchase of new pleasure automobiles so that the manufacturer may turn his factory over to the manufacture of trucks and aeroplane engines for the Government. Men must be released from their ordinary occupations in order that they may man the ship yards, the munition factories, the ships in Government service and for the fighting at the front.

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Coal must be conserved for the use of the factories engaged in Government work and for power for our ships.

These are, of course, only a few of the many ways in which each of us must contribute to the success of the great cause for which practically the whole civilized world is fighting. Each one of us should refrain during the period of the war from buying anything that is not absolutely necessary to his health and efficiency. This means fewer articles of clothing, fewer house servants, and fewer amusements and involves the abnegation of all luxuries.

One must remember that the problem is not how much each one can afford to spend, but how much the Government can afford to have him spend.

What is My Share?

The thoughtful, patriotic man, woman or child necessarily will ask this question—"Is there any way in which I can determine my share of the self denial necessary to assure to the Government materials and labor of the value of twenty-four billion dollars?" Should the war be lost, it would be appalling to realize that just a little more self-denial on the part of each one of us might have won the day.

The question which every one with patriotic impulses will address to himself will be "How little can I live upon, how much can I contribute?"

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Systematic Bond Buying Essential

It is, however, the experience of nearly everyone, that systematic giving is much larger than giving which is based upon impulse, no matter how fine the thought which provokes the gift. The systematic giver is the back bone of our churches and of our charitable organizations. It is upon the systematic buyer of Liberty Bonds that the Government must depend for the moneys required in addition to the revenue from taxation to meet the expense of the war.

Until Bankers Trust Company prepared and published last April a table showing the average contributions from given family incomes required to produce the war revenue, no such guide existed.

That such a guide met a real need has been demonstrated by the demand for this pamphlet which has come from practically every state in the Union, from individuals and especially from Liberty Loan Committees and from Red Cross Committees.

Twenty-Four Billion to be raised

The table is therefore presented again, having been recalculated to raise the twenty-four billion which our Government must contribute in the service of men and in goods of all kinds as its share of the fifty billion required in the aggregate by the Liberty Allies for this fifth, and, let us hope, the last year of the war—the year in which the Teuton Autocrats will be finally and irretrievably defeated.

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

It is planned to raise about eight billion dollars by taxation, thus leaving about sixteen billion to be raised by sales of bonds or war savings stamps.

It is important to note that the table deals with family incomes, not with individual incomes. This seems to be a logical way in which to treat the matter. Most of us live in families and think and act in terms of family income.

Twenty-Three and

Half Million Families to Share Burden

The total number of families in the United States is estimated to be 23,500,000. A family may in practice consist of only one person or of many persons.

The average number in a family for the purpose of these calculations is taken to be 4.5 persons being the number accepted in the census calculations.

There are many million individuals who are not heads of families, but who contribute toward the family income. When a given family has more than one income producer the family income for the purpose of bond purchasing should of course be the total income of all contributors, father, mother, sons and daughters.

A Table of Averages

In using the table it should be borne in mind also that it is a table of averages, similar in this respect to the longevity tables used by life insurance companies. These tables show on the average how many men and women will attain cer-

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tain ages. The individual man or woman may live much longer than the average of his group or may not live as long, but experience has shown that, on the average, the tables indicate correctly the percentages of the population which will attain certain ages.

Bond Buying Should be

According to Financial Ability

Therefore each family group should use our table not as applying exactly to their case, but as a guide to them in determining their fair share of the burden of the war financing. If a head of a family has few calls upon his income or if he has a small family and few dependents, he should plan to contribute much more heavily than the table indicates. He should do this because of the fact that on the other hand, there are those who have heavy financial burdens to carry, debts to liquidate, perhaps, or many dependents, who will not be slackers if they do not contribute the full amount for which the table calls.

Calculations Based on a Year's Requirements

In using the table the fact should be borne in mind that the calculations are based upon the requirements of the Government for an entire year, therefore, the table indicates the portion of a family's yearly income which should be set aside for the use of the Government.

How to Use the Table

To determine the amount of bonds or War Savings Stamps which should be bought, there should first be de-

ducted from the amount indicated by the table the estimated amount of the Federal income tax which must be paid on June 15th, 1919. This amount should be set aside as income is received and if the sum is large enough invested in the United States 4% Certificates of Indebtedness provided for this purpose and which may be purchased of any banking institution. The balance of the amount indicated by the table should be invested in Liberty Bonds, say one-third in the bonds of the Fourth Liberty Loan and the remainder in the bonds of subsequent Liberty Loans as offered during the fiscal year.

Contributions to War Charities

Can Also be Estimated by the Table

No part of the amounts shown by the table as required for Government war expenses will be available for the war charities or other purposes than Federal taxes and the buying of Liberty Bonds or War Savings Stamps. The war charities, together with family expenses and local taxes must come out of the remaining income. Assuming that the great war charities will require perhaps \$300,000,000 during the year, the proportion of income to be set aside therefore, if a family group desires to be systematic in its giving, can be determined by consulting the appropriate columns of the table.

Pro-Rating the Burden

Unless the tax bill now pending in Congress is radically changed before it becomes a law the larger part of the burden of taxation must be borne by the corporations and by

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individuals in receipt of the larger incomes. It is expected that three to three and a half billion dollars will be provided by the receipts from customs, excess postage, excise taxes and other forms of indirect or semi-indirect taxation.

The Corporations

The corporations after paying their taxes estimated at four billions, paying say three billions in dividends, and keeping up their properties will have comparatively small amounts left to invest in bonds. Probably not more than a billion dollars in bonds can be taken by corporations other than banks, for permanent investment holding. It is thought, though, that corporations will find it advantageous to buy at least another billion of bonds with funds set aside for use in making deferred repairs and renewals of plant. In many cases such renewals can advantageously be deferred until such a time as costs of labor and materials are more nearly normal. In the meantime the money will be in the service of the Government, bringing in a good interest return, with some important tax abatements.

The Banks

It is assumed that the banks in addition to meeting their share of corporate taxation can take care of say five and a half billion bonds either by direct purchase or by loans thereon.

This will leave about nine billion dollars of the burden to be borne by families and individuals. It ought not to be

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

especially burdensome to do this, because such incomes, especially those in the lower ranges are, comparatively speaking, to be very lightly taxed, as it is proposed to take only about one and a half billion in taxes from individual incomes. A glance at the chart which faces the first page of text will show how lightly the tax burden is placed upon those in receipt of the smaller incomes and what a large percentage those having the larger incomes are expected to pay.

Families and Individuals

Therefore the responsibility for the success of the Liberty Loans to be placed during this fiscal year rests very largely with those receiving incomes of \$10,000 and under as out of the total national income of sixty billion dollars, as conservatively estimated, eighty per cent. will be received by 23,350,000 families receiving incomes of \$10,000 and under; seventy-six per cent. by 23,140,000 of these families receiving incomes of \$5,000 or less; sixty-seven per cent. by 21,175,000 of these families receiving \$2,000 or less.

Responsibility of the Man of Moderate Means

We are sure that it is only necessary to call the attention of thoughtful, patriotic men and women to these facts in order to enlist their coöperation in making the loan a success. The very destinies of the nation, perhaps of the world, depend upon the loyal response of each one of us to the call for subscriptions to the Liberty bonds. The banks

and other corporations must do their full share, so must the families and individuals of wealth and of great wealth, but for the great sum of six billion dollars, a full quarter of the entire \$24,000,000,000 required, the Government will be dependent upon the response of the recipients of incomes of \$10,000 or less and for fully a fifth, that is for an amount in excess of five billions, it must look to the members of the 22,750,000 families receiving incomes of \$3,000 and under.

This is a serious responsibility, but after all involves only the sacrifice of present material luxuries, or comforts, perhaps of necessities in some cases, in exchange for Government bonds, bearing $4\frac{1}{4}\%$ interest, free of tax in the hands of the great majority of holders. Thus the war is forcing upon many of us the practice of thrift, to our very great advantage in the long run.

In Conclusion

We are facing a great duty to our Country and to humanity. Let our response be as clear and as unequivocal as the responses made by President Wilson and by Premier Clemenceau to the last Austrian peace proposals—"As definite as a blow from a bludgeon."

In the course of a stirring address before the French Senate, Premier Clemenceau said "the most terrible account ever opened between one people and another awaits payment" and then, after a significant pause, he added, with characteristically vigorous gesture "it shall be paid." "Germany," cried Clemenceau sternly, "has asked for a

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

decision by the sword. What Germany asked for Germany shall have." "Forward then, Soldiers of France, to the victory without stain. All France, all humanity is with you."

Yes—we will add—"All America is with you brave brothers and sisters of France, with you 'to the end, to the very end of the end' with our men, our women and our money; until the powers of Autocracy are finally and irretrievably defeated."

BANKERS TRUST COMPANY

Alignment of the Peoples of the World

Summary

FOR LIBERTY	<u>Population</u>	<u>Per Cent. of World's Population</u>
<i>Active</i> —At War with Teutons	1,145,595,000	67.96
<i>Inactive</i> —		
Teuton Relations Severed	11,477,000	.68
At Present under Teutonic		
Domination	20,834,000	1.23
Hostile Teutonic Nationals	43,600,000	2.59
Total for Liberty	1,221,506,000	72.46
FOR AUTOCRACY		
Autocracy Allies	146,300,000	
<i>Deduct</i> Hostile Teutonic Na-		
tionals	43,600,000	
Total for Autocracy	102,700,000	6.09
NEUTRAL NATIONS	151,777,000	9.00
ALL OTHER		
Belgian Colonies	15,500,000	.92
German Colonies under Allied		
Protection	12,066,000	.72
Russia	182,187,000	10.81
Total World Population	1,685,736,000	100.00

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

The Roll Call

FOR LIBERTY

Active—At War with Teutons

	Population
Brazil	24,618,000
China	320,650,000
Cuba	2,628,000
Costa Rica	442,000
France	40,000,000
Colonies	50,709,000
Great Britain . . .	46,089,000
Colonies	395,830,000
Greece	2,770,000
Guatemala	2,004,000
Haiti	2,500,000
Honduras	562,000
Italy	36,000,000
Colonies	1,433,000
Japan	56,900,000
Dependencies . . .	20,340,000
Liberia	1,500,000
Nicaragua	704,000
Panama	450,000
Portugal	6,000,000
Colonies	9,267,000
San Marino	12,000
Siam	8,820,000
United States . . .	106,012,000
Possessions	9,355,000
Total	1,145,595,000

Teuton Relations Severed

Bolivia	2,890,000
Ecuador	2,000,000
Peru	4,500,000
Santo Domingo . .	708,000
Uruguay	1,379,000
Total	11,477,000

FOR AUTOCRACY

Autocracy Allies

	Population
Austria-Hungary . .	52,000,000
Bulgaria	5,000,000
Germany	68,000,000
Turkey	21,300,000
Total	146,300,000

Hostile Teutonic Nationals Included in Autocracy Totals

Austro-Hungarian Nationals	
Czecho-Slovaks . . .	10,000,000
Jugo-Slavs	6,900,000
Italians	8,000,000
Serbians	8,000,000
German Nationals	
Alsatians and Lorrainers	1,500,000
Danes	200,000
Poles	5,000,000
Turkish Nationals	
Armenians	2,000,000
Greeks	2,000,000
Total	43,600,000

FAVORABLE TO LIBERTY

—BUT UNDER TEUTONIC DOMINATION

Albania	850,000
Belgium	7,424,000
Montenegro	437,000
Roumania	7,508,000
Serbia	4,615,000
Total	20,834,000

BANKERS TRUST COMPANY

NEUTRAL NATIONS		ALL OTHER	
	<u>Population</u>		<u>Population</u>
Abyssinia	8,000,000	Belgian Colonies .	15,500,000
Afghanistan . . .	6,380,000	German Colonies	12,066,000
Andorra	6,000	Russia—The Great	
Argentina	7,886,000	Unknown .	
Bhutan	250,000	Russia in Eur-	
Chile	3,870,000	ope, not in-	
Colombia	5,072,000	cluded below	107,655,700
Denmark	2,941,000	Courland . . .	812,300
Mexico	15,502,000	Don	4,013,400
Monaco	23,000	Esthonia . . .	512,500
Morocco	5,400,000	Finland . . .	3,277,000
Nepal	5,000,000	Ukraine . . .	24,522,500
Netherlands . . .	6,584,000	Poland . . .	12,247,600
Colonies	38,000,000	Russia in Asia	
Norway	2,392,000	(except Si-	
Oman	500,000	beria) . . .	14,746,000
Paraguay	1,000,000	Siberia . . .	14,400,000
Persia—		Total Russia	182,187,000
Neutral Sphere	1,910,000		
British Sphere .	690,000		
Russian Sphere	6,900,000		
Salvador	1,272,000		
Spain	20,000,000		
Colonies	236,000		
Sweden	5,758,000		
Switzerland . . .	3,881,000		
Venezuela	2,324,000		
Total	151,777,000		

TWENTY FOUR BILLION

Estimated Man Power September, 1918

NATIONS ALLIED FOR LIBERTY	In Service	Reserves
Brazil	300,000	5,214,432
China	500,000	71,325,600
Cuba	44,405*	544,267
Costa Rica	38,946	60,062
France	2,750,000	6,210,000
Colonies	918,000	10,440,912
Great Britain	6,250,000	4,073,936
Colonies	2,240,000	86,434,705
Greece	200,000	420,480
Guatemala	86,000	370,960
Haiti	3,000	557,000
Honduras	56,000	69,888
Italy	2,000,000	6,064,000
Colonies		321,035
Japan	1,250,000	11,495,600
Dependencies		4,556,160
Liberia	200,000*	136,000
Nicaragua	35,000*	122,696
Panama		100,800
Portugal	260,000*	1,084,000
Colonies		2,075,775
San Marino		2,688
Siam	80,000*	1,895,680
United States	3,200,000	20,546,488
Insular Possessions		2,095,419
Total	20,411,351	236,218,583

*Total war strength.

NATIONS ALLIED FOR AUTOCRACY

Austria-Hungary	10,000,000	1,648,000
Bulgaria	1,000,000	120,000
Germany	11,000,000	4,232,000
Turkey	2,000,000	2,771,200
Total	24,000,000	8,771,200

Our facilities are freely at the disposal of prospective subscribers to Liberty Bonds, Certificates of Indebtedness or War Savings and Thrift Stamps.

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BANKERS TRUST COMPANY

16 WALL STREET

5TH AVENUE AT 42ND STREET

NEW YORK CITY

The Federal Estate Tax Law and Regulations

(United States Inheritance Tax)

Act of September 8, 1916

Amended March 3, 1917

Guaranty Trust Company
of New York

The Federal Estate Tax Law and Regulations

(United States Inheritance Tax)

Act of September 8, 1916
Amended March 3, 1917

Guaranty Trust Company of New York
140 Broadway

FIFTH AVE. OFFICE
Fifth Ave. & 43rd Street

PARIS OFFICE
Rue des Italiens, 1 & 3
Opens about June, 1917)

LONDON OFFICE
32 Lombard St., E. C.

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BY GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

FOREWORD

THE Federal Estate Tax Law of September 8, 1916, was amended by the Act of March 3, 1917. This Amendment affects only the rate of tax on estates of decedents dying on or after March 3, 1917.

The net estate of every resident decedent and the net estate situated within the United States of every nonresident decedent dying on or after September 9, 1916, is subject to the provisions of the Federal Estate Tax Law and liable for the payment of the tax thereby imposed.

The rate of tax varies according to the amount of the *net* estate and increases progressively from 1% on estates of \$50,000, to 10% on estates in excess of \$5,000,000 of decedents dying prior to March 3, 1917, and from 1½% on estates of \$50,000 to 15% on estates in excess of \$5,000,000 of decedents dying on or after March 3, 1917.

The following tables show the rate of tax, the amount of net estate, and the amount for which the estate is liable.

Estates
Subject to
Tax

Rate of Tax

Decedents
Dying Prior
to March 3,
1917

(1) Estates of decedents dying *prior* to
March 3, 1917:

1%	on first	\$50,000 =	\$500
2%	" next	100,000 =	2,000
3%	" "	100,000 =	3,000
4%	" "	200,000 =	8,000
5%	" "	550,000 =	27,500
6%	" "	1,000,000 =	60,000
7%	" "	1,000,000 =	70,000
8%	" "	1,000,000 =	80,000
9%	" "	1,000,000 =	90,000
10%	" all amounts in excess of \$5,000,000		

Decedents
Dying on or
after March
3, 1917

(2) Estates of decedents dying *on or after*
March 3, 1917:

1½%	on first	\$50,000 =	\$750
3%	" next	100,000 =	3,000
4½%	" "	100,000 =	4,500
6%	" "	200,000 =	12,000
7½%	" "	550,000 =	41,250
9%	" "	1,000,000 =	90,000
10½%	" "	1,000,000 =	105,000
12%	" "	1,000,000 =	120,000
13½%	" "	1,000,000 =	135,000
15%	on all amounts in excess of \$5,000,000		

Assessment
Based on
Net Estate

The figures given above are based upon a *net* estate; that is, an estate from which there have been deducted the *allowable deductions* and, in the case of an estate of a resident decedent, the *specific exemption* of \$50,000.

Net Estate

Net estate subject to tax is determined by deducting certain items from the gross estate of the decedent.

Amendment by Act of October 3, 1917

Under the amendment to the Federal Estate Tax Law by the War Revenue Act of October 3, 1917, the rates of tax on estates of decedents dying on and after October 4, 1917, were increased as follows:

Net Estate after Specific Exemption of \$50,000	Rate of Tax under Act of March 3, 1917	Rate of Ad- ditional Tax under Act of Oct. 3, 1917	Rate of Total Tax	Amt. of Tax
Next \$ 50,000	1½%	1½%	2%	\$ 1,000
" 100,000	3 %	1 %	4%	4,000
" 100,000	4½%	1½%	6%	6,000
" 200,000	6 %	2 %	8%	16,000
" 550,000	7½%	2½%	10%	55,000
" 1,000,000	9 %	3 %	12%	120,000
" 1,000,000	10½%	3½%	14%	140,000
" 1,000,000	12 %	4 %	16%	160,000
" 1,000,000	13½%	4½%	18%	180,000
" 3,000,000	15 %	5 %	20%	600,000
" 2,000,000	15 %	7 %	22%	440,000

In excess of
\$10,000,000 15 % 10 % 25%

The additional tax imposed by the Act of October 3, 1917 shall not apply to the transfer of the estate of a decedent, dying while serving in the military or naval forces of the United States, during the war in which the United States is now engaged, or dying from injuries received or disease contracted in the service within one year after the termination of the war. (*Sec. 900 and 901.*) ;



The gross estate, as defined by the statute, **Gross Estate** includes:

1. All property, real or personal, tangible **Property in Charge of Executor** or intangible, coming into the hands of the executor or other in charge of the estate, which property would be subject to charges against the estate, expenses of administration, and distribution to the heirs or legatees;

2. Property transferred without valuable **Transfers in Contemplation of Death** consideration in contemplation of or intended to take effect at or after death;

3. Decedent's share in money or property **Interests Held Jointly or in Entirety** owned by decedent jointly with another or with others in entirety, unless it can be shown that such interest was never owned by the decedent.

In determining the net estate of resident **Deductions, Resident Decedents** decedents the following deductions from gross estate are allowed:

Funeral expenses.

Administration expenses.

Claims against the estate.

Unpaid mortgages.

Losses not compensated by insurance.

Support of dependents during the settlement of the estate.

Other charges allowed by the laws of the jurisdiction under which estate is administered.

**Specific
Exemption**

In addition to the above deductions, a specific exemption of \$50,000 is allowed to the estates of resident decedents.

**Deductions,
Nonresident
Decedents**

The above items, except the specific exemption of \$50,000, may also be deducted from the value of that part of the gross estate of a nonresident decedent which, at the time of his death, is situated in the United States, in such proportion as the value of such part bears to the value of the gross estate, wherever situated, of such nonresident decedent.

For example: a nonresident dies leaving a total estate of \$200,000, of which \$100,000 is represented by property in the United States. The total expenses of the estate under the items enumerated above as deductions amount to \$20,000. The estate would, therefore, be allowed to deduct that proportion of \$20,000, which \$100,000, the value of the estate in the United States, bears to \$200,000, the total value of the estate, i. e., one-half of the total expenses amounting to a deduction of \$10,000. This estate would accordingly be taxed on \$100,000, the value of the estate in the United States, less \$10,000, the total deductions allowed, i. e., \$90,000.

Within thirty days after qualifying or after coming into possession of any property of a decedent, an executor or other person coming into the possession of an estate must give written notice to that effect to the Collector of Internal Revenue.

Thirty-day
Notice

A return of the estate, on Form 706, as provided by the Regulations of the Treasury Department, must be made by the executor or other person coming into the possession of the estate: (1) in the case of a resident decedent, if the estate is subject to tax or if the gross estate at the time of the death of the decedent exceeds \$60,000, and (2) in the case of the estate of a nonresident, if any part of the gross estate is situated in the United States, regardless of amount.

Return

When
Required

This return, if the decedent was a resident of the United States, shall be filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue for the district in which the decedent was domiciled; if the decedent was a nonresident, it shall be filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue for the district in which the gross estate of the decedent is situated in the United States, or, if such estate within the United States is situated in more than one district, it shall be

Where Filed

filed with the Collector of Internal Revenue, at Baltimore, Maryland.

Tax Due and Payable

The tax is due one year after decedent's death, and, except where a valid will of a testator provides otherwise, must be paid from the principal of the estate, by the executors or administrators, before distribution is made to beneficiaries. A discount at the

Discount

rate of 5% per annum is allowed if payment is made prior to the time the tax is due. If the tax is not paid within ninety days after it is due, a penalty at the rate of 10% per annum from the date of decedent's death is added. If, however, failure to pay the tax when

Penalty for Nonpayment if Due to Unavoidable Delay

it is due results from inability to settle the estate because of necessary litigation or other unavoidable delay, the penalty will be assessed at the rate of 6% per annum from the date of death. Unpaid taxes are a lien against the

Lien

estate for ten years and may be recovered by court proceedings to subject the property of the decedent to sale under judgment or decree of the court.

Suit

The Federal Estate Tax Law

Being Title II of "An Act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes", Approved September 8, 1916, as Amended March 3, 1917

Title II.—Estate Tax

SEC. 200. That when used in this title—

The term "person" includes partnerships, corporations, and associations;

The term "United States" means only the States, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and the District of Columbia;

The term "executor" means the executor or administrator of the decedent, or, if there is no executor or administrator, any person who takes possession of any property of the decedent; and

The term "collector" means the collector of internal revenue of the district in which was the domicile of the decedent at the time of his death, or, if there was no such domicile in the United States, then the collector of the district in which is situated the part of the gross estate of the decedent in the United States, or, if such part of the gross estate is situated in more than one district, then the collector of internal revenue at Baltimore, Maryland.

SEC. 201. That a tax (hereinafter in this title referred to as the tax), equal to the following percentages of the value of the net estate to be determined as provided in section two hundred and three, is hereby imposed upon the transfer of the net estate of every decedent dying after the passage of this Act (*and prior to March 3, 1917*), whether a resident or nonresident of the United States:

One per centum of the amount of such net estate not in excess of \$50,000;

Two per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$50,000 and does not exceed \$150,000;

Three per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$150,000 and does not exceed \$250,000;

Four per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$250,000 and does not exceed \$450,000;

Definitions

"Person"

"United States"

"Executor"

"Collector"

Estates
Subject to
Tax

Tax Rates
Decedents
Dying Prior
to March 3,
1917

Five per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$450,000 and does not exceed \$1,000,000;

Six per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$1,000,000 and does not exceed \$2,000,000;

Seven per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$2,000,000 and does not exceed \$3,000,000;

Eight per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$3,000,000 and does not exceed \$4,000,000;

Nine per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$4,000,000 and does not exceed \$5,000,000; and

Ten per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$5,000,000.

Amendment by Act March 3, 1917

SEC. 201. That a tax (hereinafter in this title referred to as the tax), equal to the following percentages of the value of the net estate, to be determined as provided in section two hundred and three, is hereby imposed upon the transfer of the net estate of every decedent dying after the passage of this Act, whether a resident or nonresident of the United States:

One and one-half per centum of the amount of such net estate not in excess of \$50,000;

Three per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$50,000 and does not exceed \$150,000;

Four and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$150,000 and does not exceed \$250,000;

Six per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$250,000 and does not exceed \$450,000;

Seven and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$450,000 and does not exceed \$1,000,000;

Nine per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$1,000,000 and does not exceed \$2,000,000;

Ten and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$2,000,000 and does not exceed \$3,000,000;

Twelve per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$3,000,000 and does not exceed \$4,000,000;

Thirteen and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$4,000,000 and does not exceed \$5,000,000; and

Tax Rates
Decedents
Dying on
or after
March 3, 1917

Amendment by Act of October 3, 1917

SEC. 900. That in addition to the tax imposed by section two hundred and one of the Act entitled "An Act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September eighth, nineteen hundred and sixteen, as amended—

(a) A tax equal to the following percentages of its value is hereby imposed upon the transfer of each net estate of every decedent dying after the passage of this Act, the transfer of which is taxable under such section (the value of such net estate to be determined as provided in Title II of such Act of September eighth, nineteen hundred and sixteen):

One-half of one per centum of the amount of such net estate not in excess of \$50,000;

One per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$50,000 and does not exceed \$150,000;

One and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$150,000 and does not exceed \$250,000;

Two per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$250,000 and does not exceed \$450,000;

Two and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$450,000 and does not exceed \$1,000,000;

Three per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$1,000,000 and does not exceed \$2,000,000;

Three and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$2,000,000 and does not exceed \$3,000,000;

Four per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$3,000,000 and does not exceed \$4,000,000;

Four and one-half per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$4,000,000 and does not exceed \$5,000,000;

Five per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$5,000,000 and does not exceed \$8,000,000;

Seven per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$8,000,000 and does not exceed \$10,000,000; and

Ten per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$10,000,000.

SEC. 901. That the tax imposed by this title shall not apply to the transfer of the net estate of any decedent dying while serving in the military or naval forces of the United States, during the continuance of the war in which the United States is now engaged, or if death results from injuries received or disease contracted in such service, within one year after the termination of such war. For the purposes of this section the termination of the war shall be evidenced by the proclamation of the President.

Fifteen per centum of the amount by which such net estate exceeds \$5,000,000.

SEC. 301. That the tax on the transfer of the net estate of decedents dying between September eighth, nineteen hundred and sixteen, and the passage of this Act shall be computed at the rates originally prescribed in the Act approved September eighth, nineteen hundred and sixteen.

SEC. 202. That the value of the gross estate of the decedent shall be determined by including the value at the time of his death of all property, real or personal, tangible or intangible, wherever situated:

Gross Estate

(a) To the extent of the interest therein of the decedent at the time of his death which after his death is subject to the payment of the charges against his estate and the expenses of its administration and is subject to distribution as part of his estate.

Property in
Charge of
Executor

(b) To the extent of any interest therein of which the decedent has at any time made a transfer, or with respect to which he has created a trust, in contemplation of or intended to take effect in possession or enjoyment at or after his death, except in case of a bona fide sale for a fair consideration in money or money's worth. Any transfer of a material part of his property in the nature of a final disposition or distribution thereof, made by the decedent within two years prior to his death without such a consideration, shall, unless shown to the contrary, be deemed to have been made in contemplation of death within the meaning of this title; and

Transfers in
Contempla-
tion of Death

(c) To the extent of the interest therein held jointly or as tenants in the entirety by the decedent and any other person, or deposited in banks or other institutions in their joint names and payable to either or the survivor, except such part thereof as may be shown to have originally belonged to such other person and never to have belonged to the decedent.

Interests
Held Jointly
or in Entirety

For the purpose of this title stock in a domestic corporation owned and held by a nonresident decedent shall be deemed property within the United States, and any property of which the decedent has made a transfer or with respect to which he has created a trust, within the meaning of subdivision (b) of this section, shall be deemed

Situs of Prop-
erty owned
by nonresi-
dents

to be situated in the United States, if so situated either at the time of the transfer or the creation of the trust, or at the time of the decedent's death.

Net Estate

SEC. 203. That for the purpose of the tax the value of the net estate shall be determined—

Residents

(a) In the case of a resident, by deducting from the value of the gross estate—

**Deductions
Allowed**

(1) Such amounts for funeral expenses, administration expenses, claims against the estate, unpaid mortgages, losses incurred during the settlement of the estate arising from fires, storms, shipwreck, or other casualty, and from theft, when such losses are not compensated for by insurance or otherwise, support during the settlement of the estate of those dependent upon the decedent, and such other charges against the estate, as are allowed by the laws of the jurisdiction, whether within or without the United States, under which the estate is being administered; and

Exemption

(2) An exemption of \$50,000;

**Non-
Residents,
Deductions
Allowed**

(b) In the case of a nonresident, by deducting from the value of that part of his gross estate which at the time of his death is situated in the United States that proportion of the deductions specified in paragraph (1) of subdivision (a) of this section which the value of such part bears to the value of his entire gross estate, wherever situated. But no deductions shall be allowed in the case of a nonresident unless the executor includes in the return required to be filed under section two hundred and five the value at the time of his death of that part of the gross estate of the nonresident not situated in the United States.

**When Tax
Due**

SEC. 204. That the tax shall be due one year after the decedent's death. If the tax is paid before it is due a discount at the rate of five per centum per annum, calculated from the time payment is made to the date when the tax is due, shall be deducted. If the tax is not paid within ninety days after it is due interest at the rate of ten per centum per annum from the time of the decedent's death shall be added as part of the tax, unless because of claims against the estate, necessary litigation, or other unavoidable delay the collector finds that the tax can not be determined, in which case the interest shall be at the rate of six per centum per annum from the time of the decedent's death until the cause of such delay is removed,

**Discount
Allowed**

Penalty

and thereafter at the rate of ten per centum per annum. Litigation to defeat the payment of the tax shall not be deemed necessary litigation.

SEC. 205. That the executor, within thirty days after qualifying as such, or after coming into possession of any property of the decedent, whichever event first occurs, shall give written notice thereof to the collector. The executor, shall also, at such times and in such manner as may be required by the regulations made under this title, file with the collector a return under oath in duplicate, setting forth (a) the value of the gross estate of the decedent at the time of his death, or, in case of a nonresident, of that part of his gross estate situated in the United States; (b) the deductions allowed under section two hundred and three; (c) the value of the net estate of the decedent as defined in section two hundred and three; and (d) the tax paid or payable thereon; or such part of such information as may at the time be ascertainable and such supplemental data as may be necessary to establish the correct tax.

Executor's
Notice to
Collector

Return

Contents
of Return

Return shall be made in all cases of estates subject to the tax or where the gross estate at the death of the decedent exceeds \$60,000, and in the case of the estate of every nonresident any part of whose gross estate is situated in the United States. If the executor is unable to make a complete return as to any part of the gross estate of the decedent, he shall include in his return a description of such part and the name of every person holding a legal or beneficial interest therein, and upon notice from the collector such person shall in like manner make a return as to such part of the gross estate. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall make all assessments of the tax under the authority of existing administrative special and general provisions of law relating to the assessment and collection of taxes.

When
Return
Required

SEC. 206. That if no administration is granted upon the estate of a decedent, or if no return is filed as provided in section two hundred and five, or if a return contains a false or incorrect statement of a material fact, the collector or deputy collector shall make a return and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall assess the tax thereon.

Return
When Made
by Collector

SEC. 207. That the executor shall pay the tax to the collector, or deputy collector. If for any reason the amount

Payment of
the Tax

Refund of
Excess Tax
Payments

of the tax can not be determined, the payment of a sum of money sufficient, in the opinion of the collector, to discharge the tax shall be deemed payment in full of the tax, except as in this section otherwise provided. If the amount so paid exceeds the amount of the tax as finally determined, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall refund such excess to the executor. If the amount of the tax as finally determined exceeds the amount so paid the commissioner shall notify the executor of the amount of such excess. From the time of such notification to the time of the final payment of such excess part of the tax, interest shall be added thereto at the rate of ten per centum per annum, and the amount of such excess shall be a lien upon the entire gross estate, except such part thereof as may have been sold to a bona fide purchaser for a fair consideration in money or money's worth.

Payment of
Balance Due

Duplicate
Receipts

The collector shall grant to the person paying the tax duplicate receipts, either of which shall be sufficient evidence of such payment, and shall entitle the executor to be credited and allowed the amount thereof by any court having jurisdiction to audit or settle his accounts.

Default in
Payment of
Tax

Property to
Be Sold for
Payment
of Tax in
Default

Equitable
Contribution

SEC. 208. That if the tax herein imposed is not paid within sixty days after it is due, the collector shall, unless there is reasonable cause for further delay, commence appropriate proceedings in any court of the United States, in the name of the United States, to subject the property of the decedent to be sold under the judgment or decree of the court. From the proceeds of such sale the amount of the tax, together with the costs and expenses of every description to be allowed by the court, shall be first paid, and the balance shall be deposited according to the order of the court, to be paid under its direction to the person entitled thereto. If the tax or any part thereof is paid by, or collected out of that part of the estate passing to or in the possession of, any person other than the executor in his capacity as such, such person shall be entitled to reimbursement out of any part of the estate still undistributed or by a just and equitable contribution by the persons whose interest in the estate of the decedent would have been reduced if the tax had been paid before the distribution of the estate or whose interest is subject to equal or prior liability for the payment of taxes, debts, or other charges against the estate, it being the purpose and intent of this title that so far as is practicable and unless

otherwise directed by the will of the decedent the tax shall be paid out of the estate before its distribution.

SEC. 209. That unless the tax is sooner paid in full, it shall be a lien for ten years upon the gross estate of the decedent, except that such part of the gross estate as is used for the payment of charges against the estate and expenses of its administration, allowed by any court having jurisdiction thereof, shall be divested of such lien.

Tax a Lien
for Ten Years

If the decedent makes a transfer of, or creates a trust with respect to, any property in contemplation of or intended to take effect in possession or enjoyment at or after his death (except in the case of a bona fide sale for a fair consideration in money or money's worth) and if the tax in respect thereto is not paid when due, the transferee or trustee shall be personally liable for such tax, and such property, to the extent of the decedent's interest therein at the time of such transfer, shall be subject to a like lien equal to the amount of such tax. Any part of such property sold by such transferee or trustee to a bona fide purchaser for a fair consideration in money or money's worth shall be divested of the lien and a like lien shall then attach to all the property of such transferee or trustee, except any part sold to a bona fide purchaser for a fair consideration in money or money's worth.

When Trans-
feree or
Trustee
Liable for
Payment of
Tax

SEC. 210. That whoever knowingly makes any false statement in any notice or return required to be filed by this title shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding \$5,000, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Penalty for
False
Statement

Whoever fails to comply with any duty imposed upon him by section two hundred and five, or, having in his possession or control any record, file, or paper, containing or supposed to contain any information concerning the estate of the decedent, fails to exhibit the same upon request to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue or any collector or law officer of the United States, or his duly authorized deputy or agent, who desires to examine the same in the performance of his duties under this title, shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding \$500, to be recovered, with costs of suit, in a civil action in the name of the United States.

Penalty for
Failure to
Give Notice
of Qualifying
or for Failure
to Make
Return

Laws Made
Applicable
Hereto

SEC. 211. That all administrative, special, and general provisions of law, including the laws in relation to the assessment and collection of taxes, not heretofore specifically repealed are hereby made to apply to this title so far as applicable and not inconsistent with its provisions.

Regulations

SEC. 212. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall make such regulations, and prescribe and require the use of such books and forms, as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

APPENDIX

Federal Estate Tax Law Regulations and Decisions

Regulations No. 37, Governing the Collection of Estate
Tax, Under the Act of September 8, 1916

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., October 10, 1916.

Transfer of Net Estates Taxable where Decedent Died after Sept. 8, 1916

ARTICLE I.—Title II of the revenue act of September 8, 1916, levies a tax upon the transfer of net estates of decedents dying after the passage of the act—i. e., on or after September 9, 1916—whether the decedent be a resident or a nonresident of the United States.

Territory for Tax Levy. United States Defined for Purpose of This Tax

ART. II.—The United States is defined (section 200) as including continental United States, Alaska, and Hawaii. The tax is not imposed in Porto Rico or the Philippine Islands, but, under the definition of the title, the property in the United States of deceased residents of the islands is taxable as the property of nonresidents.

Exemption of \$50,000 for Estates of Residents

ART. III.—The rates of tax are set forth in section 201. In the case of the estates of all residents an exemption of \$50,000 is allowed in determining the value of the net estate. But in the case of nonresidents' estates, no exemption is allowed, the only deductions from the gross estate being a certain proportion of such charges and losses as are allowed estates of residents. (See Article IX.)

The Gross Estate

Gross Estate Defined. Property in Charge of Executors

ART. IV.—The gross estate of a decedent, as defined in section 202, includes:

(1) The entire estate of every kind, real, personal, and mixed, tangible and intangible property, coming into the hands of executors or administrators, or such as would legally come into their charge if executors or administrators were appointed, and which property would be subject to charges against the estate, expenses of administration, and distribution to the heirs or legatees. This would include insurance, not payable directly to a beneficiary named in the insurance contract, but passing as a part of the administered estate. It would include also the good will of claimant's business, if such good will possessed an actual monetary value.

Property Transferred by Deed of Trust, Gift, or Sale; when to be Included in Gross Estate

(2) All property transferred by decedent during his lifetime, but in contemplation of, or intended to take effect, at his death. This includes not only property transferred by an instrument effecting a final disposition of the transferor's death, but transfers of any kind, including gifts and sales that were not bona fide—i. e., made for an adequate consideration in money or money's worth—where it can be established that such transfers were made in contemplation of death. The law provides not only that all such transfers of any portion of decedent's property shall be included in the gross estate, but that all such transfers of material value made within two years prior to death shall be presumed to have been made in contemplation of death, and the burden of proving that they were not made in such contemplation and securing their exemption from tax is placed upon the beneficiary. Wherever, therefore, a collector or agent shall have knowledge of such a gift, "sale," or other transfer he shall require that it be returned as a part of the decedent's gross estate. All executors and administrators having knowledge of such transfers as are described in this paragraph are required by the law to set forth the facts upon their return of the estate (Form 706).

Investigation of Transfers Made More Than Two Years Prior to Decedent's Death

If, in the case of transfers made more than two years prior to decedent's death, the executors or administrators shall not include the value of the transfers upon the return of the estate, collectors shall not add such value to the gross estate until a thorough investigation has been made, all the facts have been ascertained, and the collector shall have satisfied himself that the transfers were actually made with the view of providing for the beneficiary after or because of decedent's death.

"Material" Transfers Made Within Two Years Prior to Death Required To Be Returned

In the case of transfers made within two years prior to decedent's death, it should be noted that if such transfers were made in contemplation of death they are to be included in the gross estate regardless of their value. It is only where the value is a "material part" of decedent's whole estate that the presumption is that they were made in contemplation of death. Where, therefore, an executor has made return and the collector finds that transfers of material value made within two years prior to decedent's death have been omitted, the collector shall require the executor to amend the return by including such transfers in the gross estate, unless the executor shall file conclusive evidence that the transfers were not made in contemplation of death.

Property Owned Jointly

(3) Decedent's share in joint bank accounts or in any other property owned by decedent jointly with another or with others as tenants in entirety. Only such part of such property as can be shown never to have been owned by the decedent can be excluded from his gross estate.

Gross Estate Where There Is No Executor

ART. V.—In the case of property of a decedent whose estate has no executor or administrator, all the property and interests of the decedent, including the interests described in paragraphs 2 and 3 above, will be aggregated to determine the gross estate. (See Art. XVII.)

Situs of Stock, Etc., Owned by a Nonresident

ART. VI.—In the cases of nonresident decedents, stock owned in a domestic corporation is to be treated as a part of the gross estate in the United States, Hawaii, or Alaska. Also such property and interests of a nonresident decedent as are described in paragraph 2 of this article [ART. IV.] are to be treated as part of the gross estate in the United States, Hawaii, and Alaska, if their situs was the United States, Hawaii, and Alaska, either at the time of making a transfer thereof, or at the time of decedent's death.

Income and Appreciation To Be Included in the Gross Estate

ART. VII.—Income earned during the settlement of the estate (in the case of a nonresident, income earned on the property situated in the United States, Hawaii, and Alaska) is also to be treated as a part of the gross estate. Also, any appreciation in values after the death of the decedent and prior to the distribution of the net estate is to be included in the gross estate on the return, since the tax attaches upon the transfer of the net estate and losses sustained during administration are deductible.

[Amended by Treasury Decision 2406, see page 32]

The Net Estate

Residents' Net Estates—Deductions From the Gross Estate—Funeral Expenses, Etc.

ART. VIII.—From the gross estate, determined as set forth in Articles IV to VII above, certain deductions are allowable, as follows:

In the cases of estates of residents:

- (1) Funeral expenses.
- (2) Legitimate administration expense.
- (3) Valid claims against the estate.

Mortgages

(4) Mortgages against decedent's property, but only such mortgages as were existent and unpaid at the time of

decendent's death. If in returning the gross estate only the net value to the estate of the mortgaged property is reported, the value of the mortgages can not be deducted, as, obviously, this would effect a double deduction.

Losses

(5) Losses of the estate arising during the legal period of administration and caused by fires, storms, shipwreck, or other unavoidable accident, or by theft. Only the net loss, after all compensations from insurance or otherwise have been credited can be deducted.

Support of Dependents

(6) Support of decedent's dependents during the legal period of administration. This can not be an arbitrary estimate, but must be limited to the amount actually paid by the executors or administrators to such persons as were dependent upon the decedent for support at the time of decedent's death.

Other Legal Charges—Exemption of \$50,000

(7) Such other legal charges against the gross estate as may be allowed in a court of competent jurisdiction.

(8) The specific exemption of \$50,000.

Nonresidents' Net Estates

ART. IX.—In the case of estates of nonresidents:

(a) From the gross estate situate in the United States, Alaska, and Hawaii, determined in the manner set forth in Article II, there may be deducted a proportionate share of all the expenses, losses, and charges enumerated in items 1 to 7, Article VIII above, equal to the share the whole gross estate in the United States, Alaska, and Hawaii is of the entire gross estate wherever situated.

Example: If the total gross estate wherever situated is \$1,000,000, and the share in the United States, Alaska, and Hawaii is \$100,000, and if the total of legal expenses, charges and losses is \$50,000, the share deductible from the gross estate within the United States, etc., is \$5,000. A synopsis of the correct return would read: Gross estate, \$100,000; legal deductions, \$5,000; net estate, \$95,000; tax due, \$1,400.

No Exemption for Nouresidents

(b) The exemption of \$50,000 to be taken in determining the net estates of residents does not apply, and no part of it applies, to the estate of a nonresident.

No Deductions for Nonresidents if Return Is Incomplete

(c) Furthermore, the law specifically provides (sec. 203) that if any deductions whatever are to be allowed from the gross estate of a nonresident decedent, the return filed by the executor or administrator must show not only the value of the gross estate situated in the United States, Hawaii, and Alaska, but also the value of all the property and interests, wherever situated, of the decedent.

30-Day Notice

ART. X.—In cases of estates in the hands of executors and administrators, the act requires—

Executors To File Notice of Appointment

(1) That within 30 days after the issuance by the court of letters testamentary or letters of administration a formal notice of such issuance be filed by the executors or administrators with the collector of the district in which decedent was a resident at the time of his death. (Form 704.)

Other Persons Taking Possession of Decedent's Property To File Notice

(2) That any person coming into possession, prior to the issuance of letters to executors or administrators, of any property of the decedent, shall, within 30 days from the day of acquiring possession, file a similar notice with collector. (Form 705.)

Donees and Transferees—Similar Notice Required

(3) The law contemplates also that all persons who shall have received within two years prior to the death of the decedent any material part of decedent's property, either as a gift in contemplation of death, or by a transfer intended to take legal effect at decedent's death, or by a so-called sale which was not a bona-fide sale for a fair consideration in money or money's worth, should file a similar notice with the collector within 30 days after the death of decedent. This is clearly indicated by section 202, paragraph B, of the act, wherein, for the purpose of tax liability, such gifts, transfers, and "sales" are held effective in every case as of the day of the donor's or transferor's death. With the notice to the collector, the donee or transferee may file such evidence as may be desired to establish whether the gift or transfer was in contemplation of, or intended to take effect at, the donor's or transferor's death, or whether the sale was bona fide. (Form 705.)

Duty of Beneficiaries Where There Is No Executor

(4) In the cases of estates where no executors or administrators come at any time into charge of the property, the burden of filing the 30-day notice is placed by the law upon the individual beneficiaries. Each such beneficiary having reason to believe that the total property of the decedent exceeds the gross value of \$60,000 or the net value of \$50,000, must file the 30-day notice with the collector within 30 days after coming into possession of any portion of the property. (Form 705.)

Where Notice for Nonresidents' Estates Shall Be Filed

ART. XI.—In the cases of the estates of nonresidents the above set forth requirements apply fully, except that the collector with whom any notice is to be filed is the collector in whose district the property liable for the tax is situated. If such property is located in more than one district the notice is to be filed with the collector at Baltimore, Md.

Collectors to Inform Executors as to Beneficiaries

ART. XII.—Whenever a collector, in the case of a given estate, receives the notice from a beneficiary and there are executors or administrators acting, he shall promptly inform the executors or administrators of the beneficiary's name and address, in order that the executor or administrator, in compliance with the provisions of section 205, may ascertain such facts with regard to the property possessed by the beneficiary as the executor or administrator is required to show upon his return.

Forms for Giving Notice

Executors or administrators will render this notice on Form 704. Beneficiaries will render the notice on Form 705.

The Return

Return to Be Made Within One Year After Decedent's Death—Tentative Return May Be Made

ART. XIII.—A return of the gross and net estate must be filed with the collector by the executor or administrator within one year after decedent's death and before distribution or tax payment is made. The return must be upon Form 706 and all information called for upon the blank return must be given. If the administration of the estate is in such incomplete condition that correct information as to the value of the net estate can not be given, a tentative return may be filed showing an estimate of the gross and net estate, and the tax due, and such estimated tax may be paid at the time the return is filed. The return must be made and filed with the collector in duplicate, one copy to be retained by the collector and one forwarded by him to the commissioner. Where a tentative return has been filed a final and complete return must be made on or before the date of final payment of the tax in full. Wherever there is a partial payment of tax in advance a tentative return must be filed before the collector will accept the partial payment.

When Estates of Residents Are Not Required to File Notice or Return

ART. XIV.—In the case of the estates of residents neither the 30-day notice or the return can be required, except where the gross estate, as defined in Articles IV to VII above, exceeds \$60,000, or the net estate, computed in accordance with Article VIII above, exceeds \$50,000. Wherever either of these conditions exists the 30-day notice and the return must be filed.

Every Nonresident's Estate Liable for Notice and Return

ART. XV.—The return is required of the estate of every nonresident leaving property within the United States, Alaska, or Hawaii, regardless of the amount of property so left.

When Beneficiaries Must File Notice and Return

ART. XVI.—In the case of estates having no executors or administrators, or where any part of the gross estate as defined in Articles IV to VII above passes other than in charge of executors or administrators, the act places upon the separate beneficiaries the precise duties with regard to the filing of the 30-day notice and the return and the payment of tax that are otherwise imposed on the executors and administrators. Each such beneficiary is as fully liable to all the penalties provided in the act as is the executor or the administrator. Where the property is held for the beneficiary by guardians, trustees, or fiduciaries, the 30-day notice and the return may be executed by such representatives of the beneficiary.

Collector to Make Final Returns Where There Is No Executor

ART. XVII.—Each beneficiary making return for any part of the estate tax is required by the law to give all the information possible regarding any part of the estate. The final and complete return, in cases where no executor or administrator acts, will be compiled by the collector from the several returns of the individual beneficiaries. After

having determined in this manner the total gross and net estate, the rate of tax, and the proportionate amount due from each beneficiary, the collector shall notify each beneficiary accordingly, and will enter upon the assessment list the amount of tax apportionable to each.

When no Return or When False Return Is Filed

ART. XVIII.—Where a return is materially false or incorrect, or where no return is filed, the collector or his deputy, after investigation, shall make the return and the commissioner shall assess the tax thereupon.

Cooperation of Collectors

ART. XIX.—When a beneficiary files with the collector in whose district he resides a notice of the receipt of property which discloses that the decedent was resident at the time of death in another collection district, the collector receiving the notice shall forward it to the proper collector and shall promptly inform the beneficiary as to the collection district in which return is required to be made and tax paid.

Where Returns of Nonresidents' Estates Are To Be Filed

ART. XX.—In the cases of the estates of nonresidents the above set forth requirements apply fully, except that the collector with whom the notice or return is to be filed is the collector in whose district the property liable for the tax is situated. If such property is located in more than one district, the notice or return is to be filed with the collector at Baltimore, Md.

Penalties

ART. XXI.—Two separate penalties are provided in connection with the 30-day notice and the return:

Five Thousand Dollars Penalty for False Statement

(1) For a false statement knowingly made in a notice or return the penalty is a fine not to exceed \$5,000, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both;

Five Hundred Dollars Penalty for Failure to File

(2) For failure, whether through neglect or otherwise, to file the notice or the return at the times required, a penalty of not exceeding \$500 to be recovered, with costs of suit, in a civil action in the name of the United States.

Payment of Tax

Tax Due One Year From Day of Decedent's Death —5 Per Cent. Discount for Advance Payment

ART. XXII.—Section 204 provides that the tax is due and payable one year from the day of decedent's death. Discount at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum is allowed for payment in advance. Thus, if the tax is paid two months before the due date, a discount of one-sixth of 5 per cent. of the total tax shown by the return as due is allowed.

Suit for Taxes 60 Days Overdue

ART. XXIII.—The law makes two provisions with regard to taxes delayed in payment beyond the due date:

(1) Where the delay exceeds 60 days beyond the due date, if the collector has reason to believe the payment is being arbitrarily withheld, or the Government is in danger of loss thereby, he shall report the facts to the commissioner, and with the approval of the commissioner, he shall then proceed in accordance with section 208 to report the facts to the United States attorney in order that action may be brought to subject the property of the decedent to be sold under judgment of the United States court.

Interest at 10 per Cent. or 6 per Cent. on Tax 90 Days Overdue

(2) Where the tax is delayed in payment more than 90 days after the due date interest begins to run at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum and is computed from the day of

the decedent's death to the day of payment. Provision is made, however, that if after investigation the collector determines the cause of the delay to be unavoidable, either because of necessary litigation or other condition beyond the control of those responsible for the payment of the tax, and the true tax can not, therefore, be determined, the interest shall be at the rate of 6 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. per annum, running, nevertheless, from the date of decedent's death.

Duplicate Receipt

ART. XXIV.—The tax may be paid to the collector or his deputy. The collector will issue a receipt in duplicate.

When Advance Payment Relieves From Interest

ART. XXV.—Where prior to final settlement of an estate the collector has accepted a tax payment which he deems sufficient fully to cover the estate's liability, such payment shall relieve from the accruing of further interest until such time, if ever, as it may be determined that the payment was insufficient. The collector shall then notify the persons liable for the additional tax, and interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum shall run upon the due tax from the date of the collector's notice and demand until the date of payment of the entire additional tax due.

Tax To Be Paid Before Distribution of Estate

ART. XXVI.—It is provided in the law (see sec. 208) that in every case, except where a valid will of a testator provides otherwise, the tax shall be paid from the corpus of the estate by the executors or administrators before distribution to beneficiaries is made.

Lien for 10 Years

ART. XXVII.—Any unpaid amount of tax due is a lien for 10 years upon all the property of the decedent. Under certain conditions outlined in the section 209 the lien may attach to the property of a trustee or transferee of decedent.

Administration Provisions

Powers of Investigation; Collectors, Agents, Etc.

ART. XXVIII.—Under section 210 of the act the commissioner, or any collector or law officer, or his authorized deputy or agent, has authority to examine any record, file, or paper containing, or supposed by the official to contain, any information concerning the estate of a decedent. Refusal to exhibit, upon the official's request, any such record, file, or paper renders the person having custody of the same liable to a penalty of not exceeding \$500, recoverable, with costs, in a civil action in the name of the United States.

Before, however, proceeding to report any such case to the United States attorney, the collector or agent should submit all the facts to the commissioner for advice.

Assessment, Etc.

ART. XXIX.—The present regulations No. 1 [general Internal Revenue regulations] will apply to methods of assessment and collection for the time being and until experience shall have demonstrated whether specific rules for the assessment and collection of this tax are required.

Claims

ART. XXX.—The present regulations regarding abatement and refund claims will also apply. Attention is called, however, to the provision of section 207, that where a tentative payment of tax is made, sufficient in the judgment of the collector at that time to cover all tax liability of the estate, and later it is found that there has been an overpayment, refund of the excess shall be made. This would apply regardless of whether the claim were filed within two years of date of tax payment.

W. H. OSBORN,
Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

Approved:

WM. P. MALBURN,
Acting Secretary of the Treasury

(Treasury Decision 2372)

Notice and Return by Beneficiaries Coming into Possession of any Property of a Decedent, where no Executor or Administrator of the Decedent's Property is Acting, or Prior to the Appointment of Executors or Administrators

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., September 25, 1916.

TO COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE:

The subjoined extract from an opinion of the Solicitor of Internal Revenue, dated September 23, 1916, is published for the information of those concerned.

"The said law, the Revenue Act of September 8, 1916, Section 200, defines the term 'Executor' as meaning 'the executor or administrator, of the decedent, or, if there is no executor or administrator *any person* who takes possession of any property of the decedent.'

"Section 205 requires 'that the executor, within 30 days after qualifying as such, or after coming into possession of any property of the decedent, whichever event first occurs, shall give written notice thereof to the collector'; and that 'the executor shall also, at such times and in such manner as may be required by the regulations made under this title, file with the collector a return under oath in duplicate, setting forth the value of the gross estate,' etc.

"Manifestly the purpose of the law is to secure such information and returns as will enable the Government to properly execute the law and collect such taxes as may be thereby imposed.

"In view of this uniform interpretation as to the requirement of notice and returns in all matters of revenue taxation, as well as the specific language of the law, I am of the opinion that you are justified in the preparation of regulations requiring persons who come into possession of the property of a decedent, or any part thereof, prior to the appointment of executors or administrators, to give due and proper notice to the collector of that fact. When executors or administrators are appointed they, of course, supersede all other persons in the control of the property whether such persons are in possession or not, and the duty of giving notice and making returns for the entire estate immediately devolves upon such executors or administrators."

APPENDIX

(*Treasury Decision 2385*)

Taxable Transfers

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., October 21, 1916.

SIR:

Replying to the inquiry in your letter of the 10th instant, you are informed that Paragraph B of Section 202, Title II, of the Act of September 8, 1916, provides for the inclusion in the gross estate of a decedent dying on or after September 9, 1916, of any interest of which the decedent "has, *at any time*, made a transfer" in contemplation of, or intended to take effect at or after, decedent's death.

This language is so specific that it hardly would seem open to question that Congress intended to include in the gross estate, not only such transfers including gifts and sales not bona fide made by instrument dated after September 8, 1916, or where the actual transfer took place after that date, but transfers of any kind made in contemplation of death at any time whatsoever prior to September 8, 1916. It is believed also that there is no question of the power of Congress to enact such revenue legislation. The test of the tax liability is not in such cases the date of the instrument making the transfer, or the date of the actual transfer, but the date of the death of the decedent.

(*Treasury Decision 2395*)

State Inheritance Taxes

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., November 17, 1916.

SIR:

Replying to your letter of the 14th instant inquiring whether state inheritance taxes are deductible from the gross estate of a decedent, in determining the federal tax due under Title II of the Revenue Act of September 8, 1916, you are informed that among the deductions from the gross estate specified in Section 203, Paragraph a, Subparagraph 1, of the above-mentioned Act, is the item "such other charges against the estate, as are allowed by the laws of the jurisdiction, whether within or without the

United States, under which the estate is being administered."

Since it does not appear open to question that state inheritance taxes are a primary charge against an estate and allowable as credits to executors and administrators in every state imposing such taxes, they are clearly deductible from the gross estate of the decedent whose property and interests are liable to the federal tax imposed in Title II of the Act of September 8, 1916.

(Treasury Decision 2406)

Income Earned after Decedent's Death and Appreciation in Values During Administration are not to be Returned as a Portion of the Gross Estate

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., December 2, 1916.

SIR:

Replying further to your letter of October 26, 1916, you are informed that Art. VII of Regulations 37 has been reconsidered and in view of an opinion of the Solicitor of Internal Revenue dated November 9th, sustained in an opinion of the Attorney General of November 29th, it is held that, for the purpose of tax under Title II of the Revenue Act, of September 8, 1916, the gross estate of a decedent must be based upon the value of the property at the time of decedent's death, and income earned after death and appreciation in values during administration shall be not returned for estate tax.

(Treasury Decision 2415)

Conditions Under Which Tentative Return may be Filed and Advance Tax Payment Accepted

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., December 14, 1916.

SIR:

Receipt is acknowledged of your report of the 7th instant with regard to the liability to estate tax of the estate of You make specific inquiry with regard to the allowance of certain estimated deductions

from the gross estate which were shown by the executor upon his preliminary return.

Section 204 of the taxing act, in which provision is made for the allowance of a discount of 5 per cent. for payment of tax before the expiration of one year from the death of the decedent, does not, of course, contemplate that, in order to take advantage of this discount, executors shall be permitted to make vague and inaccurate estimates of the value of the gross estate, or the extent of the legal deductions therefrom. If executors were permitted to make returns which were mere estimates it is obvious that they might oftentimes estimate the gross estate conservatively and estimate the deductions generously, or, at least, it could not be assumed that this had not been done, and it would, therefore, be necessary that in every case, after the final accounting of the executors, the Government should make a supplementary investigation to determine the true facts, since in the majority of the cases it would be probable that the tax had been underpaid in the first instance.

Section 205 provides for the filing of the return at such times and in such manner as may be required under the regulations promulgated by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and it is obvious that the proper time for return to be made is a time coincident, as nearly as possible, with the final settlement of the estate and the date upon which the estate tax is due. Since in many States more than a year from the decedent's death is allowed for administration, the time set by the regulations for the filing of the return was made coincident with the due date of the tax—that is, one year after decedent's death.

Section 207 of the act relates primarily to the payment of the tax and not to the filing of the return, and it contemplates that, if at the time the tax is due it is impossible, because of delay in administration, for an exactly accurate return to be made, a tentative return may be filed and tax shown thereon to be due may be tentatively accepted by the collector. Neither section 205 nor section 207 contemplates that at any time return may be filed and tax paid without a reasonably approximate determination of the facts relating to the gross estate and the separate legal deductions.

Therefore, when application is made to collectors for authority to file returns within one year from the death of

the decedent whose estate is being returned, collectors will require that such tentative return be based upon determined or accurately determinable values of gross estate and items of deductions, and if the estate in question has not reached such a state of settlement that a reasonably accurate return can be made, advance payment of tax will not be accepted.

(Treasury Decision 2421)

Thirty-day Notice, Return, and Tax Payment required of Representatives in this Country of Non-residents where no Executor Acts Within the Required Time; also a similar Requirement in the Case of Fiduciaries holding Property of a Resident Where no Executor Acts

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., December 22, 1916.

TO COLLECTORS OF INTERNAL REVENUE AND REVENUE AGENTS:

Inquiry has been made of this office as to the liability under Section 205 of the Revenue Act of September 8, 1916, of representatives in this country of a nonresident decedent leaving property in the hands of the representatives, and where, so far as the representatives know, no executor has been appointed.

Section 205 of the Act requires that the "executor" within thirty days after qualifying as such, or after taking possession of any property of decedent whichever event first occurs, shall give notice to the proper collector, and that later the "executor" shall file return of the estate. Section 207 requires that the "executor" shall pay the tax to the proper collector or his deputy. In Section 200 the term "executor," as used throughout Title II is defined as meaning either the executor or administrator, or if there is none, "any person who takes possession of any property of the decedent."

In the instance cited to this office for ruling, it is argued that the representatives in this country of the nonresident decedent do not "take possession" of decedent's property, and that, since the representatives are neither administrators nor beneficiaries, they can not be required to file the thirty-day notice, or return, or make payment of the tax.

From this view the Government must dissent, for although there is no change of agent or representative, there is, immediately upon the nonresident's death, a complete change in the character of the agency. Prior to the death, the local representatives held the property in charge for the nonresident, but immediately the death has occurred, they hold subject to the order of executors or administrators, and for the beneficiaries legally entitled thereto. At the moment of death, there is, on the part of the local representatives, an actual legal taking of possession for succeeding owners; a change in the conditions of possession so complete that no actuality would be added by the substitution of other agents. It is clear, therefore, that, under the provisions of Title II, such representatives are responsible for the filing of the thirty-day notice and can be saved from this responsibility only if, prior to the expiration of thirty days from the death of the nonresident, the required notice has been filed by the executor or administrator.

Further weight is given to this ruling by a consideration of the very evident intent of Congress in its definition in Section 200 of the term "executor." This definition was given with the sole purpose of providing effective means for the ascertainment and collection of the tax due in every case where the complete facts might not be known to the executor or where the executor might be in a position successfully to evade his responsibilities under the taxing act. Obviously, the object on the part of Congress in causing "*any* person who takes possession of *any* property of the decedent" to share equally with executors and administrators the liability to render notice and return and pay the tax, was that there should not be, under any circumstances of transmission, a failure of the administrative power to secure a full disclosure of the facts and a complete satisfaction of the tax. Congress must have foreseen, in enacting the final paragraph of Section 202 that without such an administrative requirement as this, the tax due because of stock owned by a nonresident in domestic corporations could be successfully evaded. The definition of "executor" in Section 200 was made intentionally so broad that no property subject to the tax could escape taxation through any uncertainty as to the person liable for giving accurate information with regard thereto.

The thirty-day notice will, therefore, be required in every case of such representatives in the United States of

nonresident decedents, unless the representatives know that within thirty days after the death of the decedent the executor or administrator has filed the notice. Similarly, the return for the portion of the estate within their charge will be required of the local representatives within one year from the death of the decedent, unless the local representatives, prior to that time, have ascertained that the executor or administrator has filed the return. Similarly, tax payment will be required of the representatives out of the property in their charge, if payment has not been made before the due date by the executor or administrator. The penalty imposed in Section 210 for failure to fulfill these requirements is \$500, to be recovered with costs of suit in a civil action.

This ruling applies also with regard to certain property of residents, such as the decedent's interest in joint bank accounts or any other property owned jointly, or as tenants in entirety, and property conveyed by deed of trust. In such cases, the fiduciary holding for the succeeding beneficiary the decedent's share of the joint account, or other property jointly owned, or acting as trustee of property conveyed to beneficiaries by a deed of trust, is required to file the thirty-day notice and the return and make tax payment, unless, within the required periods, the requirements of the law have been otherwise fully satisfied.

(Treasury Decision 2449)

The Value of United States Bonds can not be Excluded from the Gross or Net Estate in Determining Estate Tax Due

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1917.

SIR:

Answering the question presented by * * * under date of the 10th instant, relative to the liability of estates to taxation under the recent Federal Estate Tax Act, it is manifest from the following decisions of the United States Supreme Court that U. S. Government bonds must be added to the value of estates for the purpose of taxation under said Act.

The U. S. Supreme Court in *Plummer vs. Coler* (178 U. S. 134), considering the question whether, under the inheritance tax laws of a State, a tax might be validly im-

posed upon a legacy consisting of United States bonds issued under a statute declaring them exempt from state taxation in any form, said:

"We think the conclusion, fairly to be drawn from the state and Federal cases, is, that the right to take property by will or descent is derived from and regulated by municipal law; that, in assessing a tax upon such right or privilege, the State may lawfully measure or fix the amount of the tax by referring to the value of the property passing; and that the incidental fact that such property is composed wholly or in part, of Federal securities, does not invalidate the tax or the law under which it is imposed."

And dealing directly with the power of the Federal Government under the Inheritance Tax Act of 1898, to impose legacy taxes upon the transmission of an estate consisting of "free-tax" Government bonds, the Court in *Murdock vs. Ward* (178 U. S. 147), referring to the discussion and decision in the *Plummer* case, held:

"If a state inheritance law can validly impose a tax measured by the amount or value of the legacy, even if that amount includes United States bonds, the reasoning that justifies such a conclusion must, when applied to the case of a Federal inheritance law taxing the very same legacy, bring us to the same conclusion. We must, therefore, hold that if, as held in *Knowlton vs. Moore*, the tax imposed under the Act of June 13, 1898, is not invalid as a direct, unapportioned tax, nor for want of uniformity, nor as an infringement upon the laws of the states regulating wills and descents, then the tax upon legacies or bequests, descendible under and regulated by state laws, is valid even if such legacies incidentally are composed of Federal bonds."

And further, in *Sherman vs. United States* (178 U. S. 151) the Court said:

"The proposition that bonds of the United States and the income therefrom are not lawfully taxable under an inheritance tax law of the United States, because exempted by contract from such tax, has just been decided *not to be well founded*."

This is clearly conclusive of the whole question.

(Treasury Decision 2450)

Method of Determining Share in Community Property or Property Owned Jointly or in Entirety, to be Returned as a Portion of the Gross Estate of a Decedent Tenant

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., February 14, 1917.

SIR:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 6th instant calling attention to the report of the Revenue Agent, dated the 3rd instant, with regard to the liability to estate tax of the estate of

You state that, under the Texas law, all property earned by a husband or wife during the period of their marriage is community property and owned jointly. The death of either does not affect the interest owned by the survivor; that is, this interest does not pass by inheritance. The public records in such cases may, however, be misleading because any conveyance, legally made to both, is apt to be recorded in the name of one, usually the husband. As a matter of fact, however, there is a legal presumption that the whole property conveyed to either is community, without reference to the manner of its acquisition. However, if property were purchased by the separate means or property of either, or were received by either as an inheritance, such property would not be community, but would be individual property, without reference to the manner in which the deed of conveyance is stated. Notwithstanding this, however, under the presumption of the Texas law, it would have to be considered community property until facts otherwise were developed.

In the case of the estate, the Revenue Agent reported as belonging to the estate of the deceased husband, the entire property which the public records showed as in his name. The widow, who is also administratrix, stated to the Agent that the entire property so treated by the Agent as the gross estate of the deceased husband was, in fact, community property, but up to this time she has submitted no evidence substantiating this contention. While, for the purposes of local administration a presumption would be created by the local law in favor of the widow's contention in this case, such a presumption

does not rest in her favor so far as any responsibility or duty that may be imposed upon her by Federal Law is concerned. No State Statute of this character has any modifying effect whatever upon the explicit terms of a Federal Taxing Act. The Act of Congress of September 8, 1916, creates its own presumptions and defines explicitly the terms under which exemption from tax may be claimed. You will note that, under Section 202, Paragraph C, there is required to be included in the gross estate of a decedent all the interest held jointly or as tenants in the entirety by the decedent and another person, "except such part thereof as may be shown to have *originally* belonged to such other person and never to have belonged to the decedent." Under this paragraph of the taxing act, wherever the public records show property in the name of the decedent, the presumption is that it was the sole property of the decedent, and the burden of proving that another person owned, prior to the decedent's death, any interest therein is not upon the Government, but is upon the estate.

You will note the extremely limiting terms of the paragraph quoted above and that it must be shown that any part of the property to be excluded from the gross estate actually belonged in the first instance to a person other than the decedent and that it has never been owned by the decedent. If, under the Texas law, property conveyed to a husband or wife during their marriage is taken by each in entirety and in such a manner that it could not be contended that any specific part belonged to either, but that each was the owner of all, and upon the death of either no new interest or title vested in the survivor, as is the case in some states, the Government, under a strict and technical interpretation of Paragraph C of Section 202, would perhaps be justified in demanding that the whole of the property thus owned be included as a portion of the gross estate of the decedent. This, however, does not seem to have been the intent of Congress and it has heretofore been ruled in a similar case that one-half of the property, thus jointly owned, should be returned as a portion of the gross estate of the decedent husband or wife, as the case might be.

In the case of the estate, therefore, you should require of the administratrix in due time the return on Form 706 and therewith may be submitted any evidence available to the administratrix to establish that any part of the property included in the gross estate was actually com-

munity property of the decedent and his wife and that, therefore, but one-half thereof is to be treated as the estate of the decedent.

(Treasury Decision 2453)

The Deductions from the Gross Estate Provided in Section 203, Paragraph 1, are Limited to Amounts Allowed Under the Laws of the Local Jurisdiction

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., March 7, 1917.

SIR:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the third instant quoting Section 203, paragraph 1, of the estate taxing act and inquiring whether the phrase, "such other charges against the estate as are allowed by the laws of the jurisdiction" is interpreted by the Bureau as limiting all the preceding clauses of the paragraph; that is, whether any amounts could be deducted from the gross estate because of funeral expenses, claims against the estate, losses, etc., which were in excess of the amounts allowable under the laws of the local jurisdiction.

While the punctuation and construction of the paragraph may not be absolutely conclusive upon this point, it is the opinion of this office that the limitation set up in the concluding part of the paragraph applies to all the items enumerated in the paragraph; that is, there could not be deducted from the gross estate in determining the net estate liable to tax any funeral or other expenses, or any losses and charges which were in excess of the amounts allowable under the laws of the local jurisdiction as credits to administrators or executors in their accounts in the probate courts.

It is so ruled.

*(Treasury Decision 2454)**Duties of Heirs, Donees, Trustees, Fiduciaries, Transfer Agents, and Others Having or Coming into Possession of Property of a Decedent Whose Estate is Liable for Estate Tax.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, D. C., February 28, 1917.

Section 200 of the revenue act of September 8, 1916, in defining the term "executor" as including, "if there is no executor or administrator, any person who takes possession of any property of the decedent," clearly intended to provide that wherever circumstances are such that the Government could not proceed against an administrator or executor for satisfaction of the requirements of the taxing act there shall be no failure, because of inability to hold others in possession responsible, to collect the whole tax due.

Careful consideration has been given in the light of this intent of Congress to the problem of determining how far the duties of filing 30-day notice and return and making tax payment may be left solely to duly appointed executors or administrators, and to what extent, in order to insure the collection of tax due, others in possession must be required to assume these responsibilities. As a result of this consideration the following supplemental regulations are promulgated, under authority of section 212 of the Act.

Estates of Resident Decedents

Thirty day notice (Form 705) must be filed, within 30 days after death of the decedent whose estate is taxable, by others than executors or administrators, as follows:

(1) By the surviving husband or wife, as the case may be, for one-half the value at the decedent's death, of community property owned by the decedent and the survivor.

(2) By the first taker after the decedent of any of decedent's real property where this passes, in accordance with the local law, directly to the heirs of decedent.

(3) By donees who have received within two years prior to the decedent's death any gift of material value from the decedent, or who have received at any time whatever gifts

made by decedent in contemplation of, or intended to take legal effect at, death.

(4) By trustees holding property conveyed during life time by the decedent in contemplation of death or with intent to provide for others than decedent at or after decedent's death, regardless of the date of the instrument making the conveyance, or the date of possession by the trustee, or the date of vesting of the right of survivors to possession or enjoyment at or after decedent's death.

(5) By fiduciaries holding property of any kind jointly or in entirety for the decedent and another or others.

(6) By any other person, persons, joint-stock companies, corporations, or associations holding at, or taking immediately upon, decedent's death any property inclusive in the gross estate under the definition of section 202 of the taxing act, which property may not be taken in charge by decedent's executors or administrators, if any.

When the collector of internal revenue shall receive Form 705, filed as above required, he shall proceed as indicated in Article XII of regulations No. 37. If, at the expiration of one year from decedent's death, it has not been ascertained that an administrator or executor has been appointed for the decedent's estate, the collector will proceed to secure return and tax payment from the beneficiary or beneficiaries, in accordance with Article XVI and XVII of regulations No. 37.

Estates of Nonresident Decedents

The 30-day notice (Form 705) is required to be filed for all property of every kind, located or legally situate in this country (including Hawaii and Alaska), by those agents or representatives, donees, transferees, trustees, or fiduciaries of a decedent dying domiciled abroad, whether alien or citizen of the United States. The notice must be filed within 30 days from decedent's death with the collector of internal revenue in whose district the property within this country is situate, unless the local agent, etc., having the property in charge knows that there is other property of decedent located in another collection district, in which case the notice is to be filed with the collector of internal revenue, Baltimore, Md.

If it be not possible for the local agent, representative, etc., to file the notice within 30 days from death of the non-resident, the penalty denounced in section 210 will not be asserted if the notice is filed within 30 days from the

day upon which the local agent, representative, etc., receives information of the nonresident decedent's death.

Each collector receiving Form 705 showing property of a nonresident will immediately inform the commissioner of the fact. A record will be kept in the commissioner's office from which it can be determined whether Forms 705 for a given estate have been filed in more than one collection district, in which case the several collectors will be instructed to forward the Forms 705 to the collector at Baltimore, Md.

In due time, if the administrator or executor of the nonresident decedent has failed to file return as provided in section 203, paragraph (b), and pay the tax due, the collector shall require such return and tax payment from the local agent, representative, etc. No deductions whatever from the gross estate will be allowed in such a case unless all the property of the nonresident decedent is shown to be located in this country and it is established that all has been returned for estate tax. Where there is more than one holder in this country of decedent's property, the collector will aggregate the separate returns, proceeding in accordance with Article XVII of regulations No. 37.

Under no circumstances may the local agent, representative, etc., release to a foreign administrator or executor or a foreign beneficiary of the decedent any property within this country at the time of decedent's death until either (1) the tax due because thereof has been paid or (2) ancillary letters have been taken out in this country or otherwise provision has been made by the estate for the satisfaction of the tax lien resting upon the decedent's property in this country. When such ancillary letters have been taken out or such provision has been made, the local agent, representative, etc., shall immediately inform the collector fully as to the facts.

An administrator or executor acting in a foreign country will not be recognized as believing others in charge or possession of a decedent's property from responsibility for satisfying the requirements of the taxing act unless and until he has made return and tendered payment of all tax due. The penalty denounced in section 210 of the act will be asserted against every agent, representative, etc., in this country releasing to a foreign administrator or executor or beneficiary of the decedent the property within

this country, except where the requirements of this regulation have been complied with.

The above regulation fully applies to transfer agents of corporate stock or bonds, receiving into possession for transfer purposes such personalty of a nonresident decedent. The transfer shall not be effected or the stock or bonds released to the foreign administrator or executor or the succeeding beneficiary until the transfer agent shall have been fully assured either that the tax due has been paid or that ancillary letters have been taken out in this country or provision otherwise made for the satisfaction of the tax lien against the estate.

This ruling applies also to safe-deposit companies, warehouses, and similar custodians of property in this country of a nonresident decedent, to brokers holding as collateral securities belonging to a nonresident decedent, to banking institutions holding money of nonresident decedents on deposit or for any specific purpose, such as the purchase of goods, so long as the title rests in the nonresident decedent, his estate or his heirs, and to debtors in this country of nonresident decedents.

It does not apply to carriers of property of a nonresident decedent while such property is in their charge for the purpose of transit.

Form 704 (Thirty-Day Notice) is for Exclusive Use of Executors or Administrators

Replying to your letter of the 14th instant, you are informed that the mimeograph letter of February 6, 1917, published on page 36 of your War Tax Service is in error in stating that beneficiaries should file Form 704. The proper form is, of course, 705, Form 704 being for the exclusive use of executors or administrators.

Claims for Refund and Abatement of Taxes

REVISED STATUTES, SEC. 3220

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, is authorized, on appeal to him made, to remit, refund, and pay back all taxes erroneously or illegally assessed or

collected, all penalties collected without authority, and all taxes that appear to be unjustly assessed or excessive in amount, or in any manner wrongfully collected; also to repay to any collector or deputy collector the full amount of such sums of money as may be recovered against him in any court for any internal taxes collected by him, with the cost and expenses of suit; also all damages and costs recovered against any assessor, assistant assessor, collector, deputy collector, or inspector, in any suit brought against him by reason of anything done in the due performance of his official duty; Provided, That where a second assessment is made in case of a list, statement or return which in the opinion of the collector or deputy collector was false or fraudulent, or contained any understatement or undervaluation, such assessment shall not be remitted nor shall taxes collected under such assessment be refunded or paid back, unless it is proved that said list, statement, or return was not false or fraudulent and did not contain any understatement or undervaluation.

Forms 46 and 47 on Which to Present Claims for Refund and Abatement of Taxes

Form 46

Claims for the refunding of assessed taxes and penalties must be made out upon Form 46. In this case, as in that of claims for abatement upon Form 47, the burden of proof rests upon the claimant. All the facts relied upon in support of the claim should be clearly set forth under oath. The claim should be still further supported by an affidavit of the deputy collector of the proper division, and by the certificate of the collector. (Extract from Regulation No. 14, Revised, published October 15, 1911.)

Form 47

Claims for abatement of taxes or penalties erroneously or illegally assessed or which are abatable under remedial acts, etc., must be made out upon Form 47, and must be sustained by the affidavits of the parties against whom the taxes were assessed, or of other parties cognizant of the facts, and must be accompanied by affidavits of the deputy collectors of the divisions in which the claims arise. (Extract from Regulation No. 14, Revised, published October 15, 1911.)



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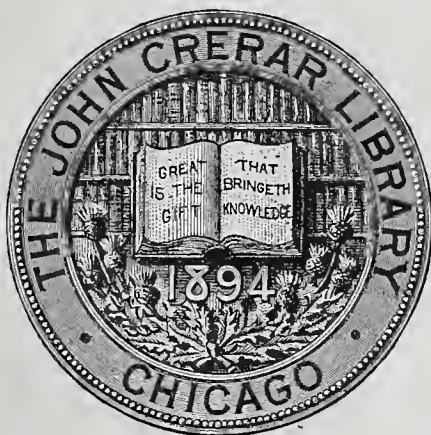
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THE
JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY

A LIST OF
BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES
ON CREMATION

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CREMATION ASSOCIATION OF
AMERICA COLLECTION



CHICAGO
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
1918

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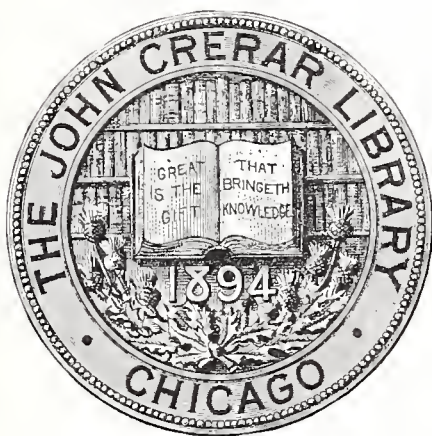
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PREFACE

The Cremation Association of America decided in 1914 to establish, at some point in the Central States, a cremation library, to consist of books, periodicals, pamphlets, clippings, etc., purchased by the Association or donated by its various branches or by crematories and others interested in the cause of cremation. The collection was offered to The John Crerar Library and accepted by the Board of Directors in January, 1915.

Since that date, the Library has received from the Association a large number of books, pamphlets and clippings. This material, together with the publications on the subject acquired otherwise by the Library, is recorded in the present list which is the fifteenth of the Library's bibliographical publications. It contains 376 titles of single items and a large number of papers, clippings and illustrations, mounted in scrap-books, but not listed individually. The collection is being constantly added to, both by the Association and the Library.

The books and pamphlets may be borrowed by members of the Cremation Association of America. The following items are, however, excluded from lending: The Urn, The Modern Cremationist, the autograph copy of Sir Henry Thompson's *Modern Cremation*, the pamphlet published by the Lancaster Cremation and Funeral Reform Society, the material for the Quinquennial Yearbook for 1910-1915, and the scrap-books.

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The GERMAN PIRATE

IS METHODS
AND RECORD



AJAX

GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY, *Publishers*, New York



THE GERMAN PIRATE

BY AJAX

QUOTATIONS

*"Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars—
and the short peace more than the long."*

Fr. Nietzsche's *"War and Warriors."*

*"The German who loves his people, and believes
in the greatness and the future of our home . . .
must not let himself be lazily sung to sleep by the
peace-lullabies of the Utopians."*

The German Crown Prince in *"Germany Under
Arms."*

*"Efforts to secure peace are extraordinarily det-
rimental to the national health so soon as they in-
fluence politics."*

General von Bernhardi's *"Germany and the Next
War."*

THE GERMAN PIRATE

His Methods and Recora

BY AJAX

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FOREWORD

*"The German people is always right, because it is the German people, and numbers 87 million souls." **

O. R. TANNENBERG.

THE sea is a stern mistress. She demands from her sons both vigilance and skill in her service, and for the man who fails her the penalty is death. From generation to generation men have faced and fought the same dangers in every ocean. Going down to the sea in ships from a thousand different ports, the mariners of the world have triumphed or died like their fathers before them, in the face of dangers as old as the world itself. And because they have braved the same perils, seamen of all nations have been united in a splendid fellowship, which is called the Brotherhood of the Sea. The mariner in danger who sent out a call for help could count on assistance from his brother of the sea, regardless of nationality; while with the advance of science and coming of wireless

* *Great Germany*, 1911 (page 231).

telegraphy, the scope of such mutual assistance became more and more extended. Without hesitation men turned their ships from their intended course, on receiving the S.O.S. signal, and sped for miles to the help of their unfortunate brothers.

It bound men together, this Brotherhood of the Sea, in a way never fully to be comprehended by landsmen. It was a fine, manly freemasonry, and demanded from its members those qualities of courage, honour, and chivalry which are the true seaman's heritage. Not until the coming of the German submarine commander was the Brotherhood of the Sea destroyed.

The following accounts of German submarine exploits have been compiled from British Admiralty documents and the sworn statements of survivors. Each story is a plain statement of fact. They are, of course, merely a selection, but they show quite clearly the lines upon which the German submarine campaign has been conducted from the beginning of the war up to the latter part of 1917.

It is only right that the tale of these sinkings should be widely known, because only by knowing what has actually taken place can a true opinion be formed about the German sub-

mariner and his work. For this reason, the following accounts have been set down as simply as possible, without exaggeration or unfair comment.

The German submarine commanders were sent to sea in order to sink ships, because Germany believed unrestricted U-boat warfare a necessity; but they received orders, according to the Berlin Government, that human life and the rights of neutrals were to be respected. The way in which these orders were carried out is shown in the following pages.



THE GERMAN PIRATE

THE PIRATE AS THIEF

A Selection of Cases.

Dutch s.s. <i>Gamma</i>	1st Feb., 1917.
Russian s.v. <i>Garnet Hill</i>	2nd Feb., 1917.
British trawler <i>Romeo</i>	3rd Feb., 1917.
British s.s. <i>Dauntless</i>	4th Feb., 1917.
British trawler <i>Benbow</i>	9th Feb., 1917.
British trawler <i>Athenian</i>	9th Feb., 1917.
British trawler <i>Ireland</i>	10th Feb., 1917.
British s.s. <i>Margarita</i>	14th Feb., 1917.
British s.v. <i>Invercauld</i>	22nd Feb., 1917.
Portuguese and Irish } Fishing Vessels	{ March and May, 1917.
British s.v. <i>Alfred</i>	12th June, 1917.
Swedish s.s. <i>Snetoppen</i>	4th July, 1917.

CHAPTER I

THE PIRATE AS THIEF

"If Fate has selected us to assume the leadership in the Kultur-life of the peoples, we will not shrink from this great and lofty mission."—GUSTAV E. PAZANREK.*

THE Dutch steamer *Gamma* was proceeding from New York to Amsterdam on the 1st February, 1917, with a cargo of oilcake for the Netherlands Government. At 2.30 p.m. a German submarine appeared on the port bow, steering towards the ship. Without making any signal, the submarine at once opened fire. She fired six shells, one of which struck the windlass. The ship was stopped, boats were lowered, and the master proceeded to the submarine, where he was questioned by the commander. A German officer and two men boarded the *Gamma*, placed bombs in her holds, and returned with a bag of flour, two hams, some butter, and a few engine-room tools. The master asked for a tow, but this was refused, and the submarine dis-

* *Patriotism, Art, and Art-Handicraft* (p. 23).

appeared. Ten minutes later the bombs exploded and the *Gamma* went down. It was bitterly cold, but fortunately the boats were picked up by the Dutch liner *Vondel* at about 6 o'clock that night.

The *Gamma* was a neutral vessel laden with cargo for a neutral Government, but the fact was totally disregarded by the Germans. Fire was opened recklessly and without warning, and it was merely a matter of chance that no lives were lost. Having looted the vessel in true pirate style, the Germans refused the Dutchman a tow. Once more it was only through good fortune that their boat happened to be picked up before any of the crew had died from exposure. The Germans showed themselves to be arbitrary, discourteous, and robbers.

At 12.15 p.m. on the 2nd February, 1917, a U-boat suddenly appeared alongside the Russian sailing vessel *Garnet Hill* and ordered the crew to abandon the ship at once. When this had been done, bombs were placed in the vessel, which sank in about five minutes after the explosion. The Germans took the master's chronometer and a lot of clothes. They also took off one member of the crew who declared himself to be a German. The boats were picked up 28 hours later.

This is a case that gives one an insight into German methods, and suggests the possibilities of the seaman as spy. Obviously these possibilities are very great, although we cannot say for certain to what extent the services of the seaman-spy have been utilised by Germany in her submarine campaign. Many a ship may have been betrayed by Germans masquerading under some other nationality. The idea of the sea-spy is so essentially Teutonic that it must have been exploited by the Berlin Government. Thus, although the *Garnet Hill* provides an instance of the Pirate as Thief, it is perhaps more interesting as an instance of the Pirate as Spy.

The British trawler *Romeo* was sunk by a German submarine at 2 p.m. on the 3rd February, 1917. Before sinking her the Germans ransacked the vessel and took away her ensign, ship's stores, clocks, weather-glasses, the clothes of the crew, and the skipper's kit. The crew were picked up by a patrol-boat at 5 p.m. the same day.

On the 4th February, 1917, at 6 p.m. the British steamship *Dauntless* was struck on the funnel by a shot. The master at once gave the order "Hard a-starboard," but before it could be executed a shell struck the bridge, damaging the steering-gear and wounding the master and the

man at the wheel. Shells began to fly over the ship, the engines were stopped, and both life-boats were lowered. One fireman was killed on deck, but the rest of the crew reached the boats in safety, although firing was continued all this time. When the starboard life-boat had got a little way from the ship the submarine appeared alongside and ordered all hands on board. The lifeboat was then manned by Germans, who proceeded to the vessel, presently returning with various tinned provisions, some turpentine, and enamel, which were taken on board the submarine. They had also brought away the ship's jolly-boat.

At about 8.10 p.m. the sound of a muffled explosion was heard, and the crew were then ordered into their boats, the submarine disappearing in the darkness. The master and six men entered the jolly-boat, the remaining nine men taking to the life-boat. Soon afterwards the two boats became separated in the darkness.

They rowed the jolly-boat all through the night, and at 6 a.m. next day the steward died from exposure. His body was thrown overboard at 6 o'clock that evening. Land was then visible, but a snow-storm came on, and land was lost. They rowed all through the night, but on Tuesday morning land was sighted again, and at 10 a.m.

the boat touched the beach and was overturned by breakers. The remaining six men managed to get ashore, but soon after landing the second engineer and a fireman died on the beach. The four survivors were taken to hospital, and on 12th February the mate and chief and second engineers were discharged. The master was left behind, suffering from exposure and shell wounds.

At 12.50 p.m., in very thick weather, on the 9th February, the British trawler *Benbow* was fired upon by a German submarine. As the fog lifted two shots were fired, followed by four more while the boat was being got out. The crew were transferred to the submarine while a party of Germans visited the trawler. They returned with 5 stone of flour, 3 tins of treacle, 4 stone of sugar, half-a-dozen boxes of Quaker oats, 3 barrels of meat, 10 lbs. of sausages, several tins of milk, 2 clocks, and the kits of the skipper and chief engineer. When the submarine was last seen the clothes were being divided amongst the Germans. The trawler was sunk by a bomb; the submarine disappeared in the fog.

On the same day the British trawler *Athenian* was attacked by a U-boat, seven or eight shots being fired while her boat was being got out. Everything portable was taken from the trawler

by the Germans. After she had been sunk, the German commander asked the skipper whether he would like to go to Germany or remain in his open boat. The skipper chose his boat. The men were picked up at 2 p.m. next day.

At 12.30 p.m. on the 10th February, 1917, the master of the British trawler *Ireland* was towing his trawl at a speed of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour when he sighted a German submarine $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away on the port side. The submarine fired a shot which dropped 2 yards clear of the trawler's stern. Her boat was at once got out, two more shots being fired, one of which dropped just astern, while the other passed over the funnel. The crew embarked in their boat without casualties, and the Germans then looted the trawler, taking away the ship's papers, sextant, binoculars, fisherman's almanack, and a basket of provisions. They sank the trawler at about 1 p.m. The crew were picked up by a patrol-boat at 6 a.m. on the 14th February, and landed at Scarborough at 8 o'clock that night, when two of them were sent to hospital suffering from frost-bite.

The British steamer *Margarita* was sunk by a U-boat in the evening of the 14th February, 1917, after being looted by the Germans. They took

the clocks from the engine-room and cabin, the barometer, some condensed milk, and some soap. The crew were picked up at 3.15 a.m. next day and landed at Milford Haven.

The British sailing vessel *Invercauld* was sunk on the 22nd February by a German submarine, which opened fire on her without warning. After firing a torpedo, which struck the ship on the port beam, blowing away 150 feet of her side, the Germans boarded her and searched for food. However, the water was too high for this, so the commander contented himself by taking the chronometer, binoculars, clocks, bell, ensign, and other portable articles, for which he gave the master a receipt. The master and his crew of 23 hands escaped without casualty.

On the 17th March, 1917, two German submarines attacked and sank four Portuguese fishing vessels, the *Rita Segunda*, *Flor de Abril*, *Senora del Rosario*, and *Restaurador*. One man of the *Restaurador* was killed and three others injured, although the crews left their vessels after the first shot. On the 19th March the following official statement was issued in Lisbon:

"While four trawlers were fishing off the coast of Algarvo, the most southerly province of Portugal, two German submarines made their appear-

ance, one from the north and the other from the south. They immediately opened fire upon the fishing vessels. The crews were ordered to leave their ships, which were then looted by the Germans of the fish and clothing they had on board. The trawlers were then sunk. One of the fishermen was killed and three were seriously wounded. The remainder of the crews, to the number of about 100, have been safely landed at Lisbon by patrol-boats of the Portuguese Naval Division."

On the 3rd May, 1917, nine or ten Irish fishing vessels were looted and destroyed by German submarines at about 8 p.m. The skipper of one of these vessels, the *Lucky Lass*, has described how the Germans took his new foresail, fishing lines, clothes, oilskins and his son's watch. They then smashed up the *Lucky Lass* with a large hatchet and a big stone hammer. They were in a great hurry, and ordered the skipper and his son to keep a sharp look-out for British patrol-boats during their looting operations. Another boat, the *Sir Edward Birbeck*, was sunk by bombs.

The Swedish steamer *Snetoppen* was bound for New York on the 4th July, 1917, when a submarine came to the surface on her starboard bow and commenced to shell her. After half-a-dozen shots had been fired the master decided that his

position was hopeless, and gave orders to abandon ship in two boats.

The Germans then proceeded to loot the steamer, taking the ship's chronometer and barometer, two sextants, and three boat-loads of provisions. The German sailors ransacked the state-rooms, while their officers demanded whiskey, beer and cognac, besides taking all the clothes they could lay hands on. They sank the steamer with bombs, and left the survivors in their boats. These were afterwards picked up by an American destroyer.

The British sailing ship *Alfred* was sunk on the 12th June. The Germans looted the vessel, carrying off the stores and all her brass-work. The crew were taken on board the submarine and then witnessed the sinking of another vessel. They saw dead bodies and struggling men in the water, while the officers and crew of the submarine sneered and laughed at them.

With regard to these cases, it would probably be contended by the Germans that the sufferings of the *Dauntless'* survivors were unavoidable. But what about the shelling of the vessel? This was wholly unnecessary, and resulted in the death of one man. The Germans could have committed their thefts of provisions, turpentine and enamel

without first shelling the ship. To the lesser crime of theft they need not have added the greater crime of murder.

In the same way, the shelling of the British trawlers was totally uncalled for; and since it is not to be supposed that the German fires merely for the amusement of discharging his guns, another conclusion is forced upon us. It will be noticed that shots were fired while the boats were being lowered in the cases of the *Dauntless*, *Benbow*, and *Ireland*. With what object, except to take life? Upon the occasions under review the German missed his mark; but this does not always happen, as the study of other cases will show.

Apart from the firing, the examples quoted show the German as thief, although in the sinking of the *Invercauld* the pirates defeated their own ends, so far as food was concerned. The giving of a receipt for the articles taken was in accordance with the German Prize Regulations, which lay down that: "H.M. ships can, in case of need, replenish from the cargo and from the non-consumable and consumable stores of captured enemy ships (a receipt being given for anything taken) if the articles are not proved beyond doubt to be neutral."

The incidents connected with the sinking of the *Alfred* make one speculate as to the standard by which German naval officers regulate their conduct. It is inconceivable that any British commander would allow his men to laugh and sneer at a number of hapless seamen struggling in the water. This German officer, however, did not hesitate to do so.

The looting of the Swedish steamer *Snetoppen* is interesting in view of the regulation above quoted in connection with the *Invercauld*. It is a case of the Pirate as Thief amongst neutrals. The Germans behaved like common housebreakers, and showed the same spirit which their comrades of the German Army exhibited early in the war, when they ransacked chateaux and private houses during their first advance.

It would be in place here to glance at other provisions contained in the German Naval Prize Regulations. These should be borne in mind when reading about the actual deeds of the German submarine officers here collected. The Regulations were published in the *Reichs-Gesetzblatt* at Berlin on the 3rd August, 1914. The first of the "General Provisions" reads:—

"The commanding officers of H.M. warships have the right during a war, in accordance with

the following provisions, to stop enemy or neutral merchant ships, to search and capture them as well as the enemy and neutral goods in them, and in exceptional cases to destroy them."

Clause 4 of the General Provisions states:—"All measures are to be carried out in a manner the observance of which—even towards the enemy—is demanded by the honour of the German Empire, and with such consideration for neutrals as is in accordance with international law and German interests."

Clause 6 sets out the vessels that are exempt from capture. These include: "Hospital ships, vessels employed exclusively in coast fisheries, or small boats employed in local trade, so long as they do not take any part whatever in hostilities."

There are two clauses dealing with ships which endeavour to escape. The first states that: "A neutral ship is to be treated as an enemy ship if she forcibly resists the exercise of the right of stoppage, search, and capture; force may be used against the ship in question until she ceases to resist; attempted flight alone does not count as forcible resistance." On the other hand, Article 83 declares: "If the ship does not stop when signalled, two rounds of blank are to be fired,

one after the other; and, if necessary, a live shell across her bows. If the vessel does not then bring to, or offers resistance, the commander will compel her to stop."

No excuse can be made for the German commanders, in view of these regulations. Their Government ordered them to behave in the manner demanded by the honour of the German Empire, and in accordance with international law and German interests. Their conduct has shown the world the meaning of the word "honour," as understood within the German Empire. For international law, of course, they have never attempted to show the slightest respect; but it is possible that they really believed they were serving German interests by behaving as bloodthirsty pirates. The mad doctrine of "frightfulness," which has been preached to Young Germany from a thousand pulpits and in a thousand schools all over the Central Empire, has killed all sense of morality in the modern Teuton. The German thinks he can terrorise the world by acts of mere savagery: this is the deadly error which has cut his country off from the civilised nations of the globe.

THE PIRATE AS MURDERER

A Selection of Cases

s.s. <i>Aguila</i>	27th March, 1915.
s.s. <i>Falaba</i>	28th March, 1915.
Trawler <i>Victoria</i>	1st June, 1915.
s.s. <i>Meadowfield</i>	9th July, 1915.
s.s. <i>Glenby</i>	17th August, 1915.
s.s. <i>Cymbeline</i>	4th Sept., 1915.
s.s. <i>Middleton</i>	30th Nov., 1915.
s.s. <i>Clan Macleod</i>	1st Dec., 1915.
s.s. <i>Commodore</i>	2nd Dec., 1915.
s.s. <i>Orteric</i>	9th Dec., 1915.
s.s. <i>Van Stirum</i>	25th Dec., 1915.
s.s. <i>Sussex</i>	24th March, 1916.
s.s. <i>Simla</i>	2nd April, 1916.
s.s. <i>Zent</i>	6th April, 1916.
s.s. <i>Whitgift</i>	20th April, 1916.
s.s. <i>Brussels</i>	23rd June, 1916.
s.s. <i>Curamalan</i>	21st Sept., 1916.
s.s. <i>North Wales</i>	20th Oct., 1916.
s.s. <i>Cabotia</i>	20th Oct., 1916.
s.s. <i>Rappahannock</i>	26th Oct., 1916.
s.s. <i>Arabia</i>	6th Nov., 1916.
s.s. <i>Moresby</i>	28th Nov., 1916.
Trawler <i>Trevone</i>	30th Jan., 1917.
s.s. <i>Eavestone</i>	3rd Feb., 1917.
Trawler <i>Vulcana</i>	7th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>St. Ninian and Corsican Prince</i>	7th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>California</i>	7th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Sallagh</i>	10th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Afric</i>	12th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Valdes</i>	17th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Laconia</i>	25th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Galgorm Castle</i>	27th Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Redcap</i>	1st March, 1917.
s.s. <i>Tasso</i>	17th March, 1917.
s.s. <i>Joshua Nicholson</i>	18th March, 1917.
s.s. <i>Alnwick Castle</i>	19th March, 1917.
s.s. <i>Daleby</i>	29th April, 1917.
s.s.s. <i>Tycho and Porthkerry</i>	20th May, 1917.
s.s. <i>Clan Murray</i>	29th May, 1917.
Schooner <i>Jane Williamson</i>	10th Sept., 1917.
Schooner <i>William</i>	11th Sept., 1917.
French Barquentine <i>Mimosa</i>	24th Sept., 1917.
s.s. <i>Elmsgarth</i>	29th Sept., 1917.

CHAPTER II

THE PIRATE AS MURDERER

*"The German is a hero born, and believes that he can hack and hew his way through life."**

HEINRICH V. TREITSCHKE.

IN February, 1915, Germany declared a blockade of Great Britain and Ireland. Her official declaration stated, amongst other things, that from February 18th every hostile merchant ship found in the waters around the British Isles would be destroyed, "even if it is not always possible to avoid dangers which thereby threaten the crews and passengers." Neutral ships were also warned that they would incur danger in the "military area," because, according to Germany, the British Government had issued orders as to the misuse of neutral flags at sea. This accusation was false; no misuse of neutral flags has ever been ordered by the British Government. Traffic northwards round the Shetland Islands was graciously permitted by the Germans in their Note.

* *Politics*, 1916 (p. 230).

That Germany could enforce an effective blockade of the British Isles was not to be expected, but the Berlin Press hailed the Imperial Government's declaration with delight. The *Lokal-Anzeiger*, a semi-official journal, exclaimed: "What do we care about the outcry of others and the indignation of our enemies? We Germans have a great lesson to learn from this war, namely, not to be fastidious and not to listen to others." Both these lessons appear to have been thoroughly mastered. In the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the official organ of the Conservative and Court parties, the following comment appeared: "It appears that we shall now torpedo ships without previous warning. For the first time we appear now to have decided on this relentless form of warfare. We welcome with satisfaction the fact that our submarines will wage the most ruthless and relentless war against all enemy shipping."

As the term "blockade" is liable to misinterpretation, we cannot do better than quote the German definition of a blockade, as contained in the German Naval Prize Regulations, Section V., Articles 58, 59, and 60.

"The blockade must be confined to the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy;

the blockading forces must not bar access to neutral ports or coasts.

"A blockade, in order to be valid, must be effective, applied impartially, and declared and notified according to the rules concerned.

"A blockade is really effective when it is maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy coast. The question whether a blockade is effective as to number and disposition of the blockading forces under the existing geographical conditions must in every case be examined by the Prize Court. Among other things, it will be denied if maritime traffic could be maintained between one of the blockaded ports and any port not blockaded."

The absurdity of the German declaration becomes clear in the light of Germany's own official description of an effective blockade. It is now over two years since she essayed to blockade the British Isles; but never during the whole of that period has she been able to provide a "force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy coast." Moreover, during the same period maritime traffic has been "maintained between blockaded and unblockaded ports." The whole affair quickly developed into a series of piratical raids by submarines against the sea-borne commerce of

the world, carried out in a spirit of reckless brutality.

The German's utter disregard even for the rules laid down by his own Admiralty horrified the world and destroyed the reputation and honour of the German Navy. This can scarcely be considered surprising, when we remember that the following are but a few examples of the German submariner's methods.

On the 27th March, 1915, at about 5.30 p.m. the s.s. *Aguila*, when signalled to stop by a submarine, put on full speed to escape. She was, however, overhauled, the submarine approaching to within about 300 feet of her, and opening fire with shrapnel and solid shot. The chief engineer was killed, and the master, third engineer, and a fireman were wounded. At 6 p.m. the engines were stopped, and as way came off the ship, the boats were lowered; but the submarine continued to fire, killing the boatswain, donkeyman stewardess, and a lady passenger, and wounding others. One of the boats capsized, which brought the total death-roll up to eight. The position was 33 miles from land. The submarine offered no assistance, and went away after sinking the ship.

On the 28th March, 1915, the s.s. *Falaba*, of

4,806 tons, was overhauled after a short chase by an enemy submarine about 60 miles west of St. Ann's Head. The submarine hailed the ship through a megaphone to "take to the boats, as they were going to sink the ship in five minutes." This was at noon, and ten minutes later the submarine fired a torpedo from a distance of about 100 yards. The *Falaba* took a list to starboard and sank in 8 minutes.

The steamer carried a crew of 95 and 147 passengers, including seven women, a total of 242 persons; and it was quite impossible to transfer this number of people to the boats in the twenty minutes that elapsed between the submarine's warning and the sinking of the ship. While the boats were being launched at top speed, the falls of one boat slipped, the falls of another jammed, some boats were dashed against the side of the ship, and one was seriously injured by the explosion of the torpedo. The result was that 104 lives were lost, 138 being saved.

This heavy loss of life was quite unnecessary, and would never have occurred if the German commander had allowed the master a reasonable time in which to abandon ship. We are entitled to claim that the sinking of the *Falaba*, carried

out as it was, amounted to nothing less than an act of murder. This is true, because the safety of the U-boat did not depend upon the immediate sinking of the steamer, which could have been destroyed just as effectually without the loss of a single life.

On the 1st June, 1915, at about 4.30 p.m., the trawler *Victoria* endeavoured to escape from a submarine; but after being badly damaged and losing one of her crew by shell-fire, the vessel was hove to. The submarine was only 200 yards away, but she continued to fire, killing five men and wounding a sixth, although the trawler had surrendered.

The spirit of the German submariner is here illustrated. Because a vessel, very naturally, tries to escape, she is submitted to shell-fire after giving in, and unnecessary loss of life is inflicted. The German commander apparently derived satisfaction from this shelling of an unarmed craft while stationary, but to ordinary men his action will seem inhuman and cruel.

At 2.15 p.m. on the 9th July, 1915, a shot was fired at the s.s. *Meadowfield* by a submarine. Immediately afterwards, while the master was looking round to see from whence the shot had come, a second was fired and the man at the wheel

fell dead. The engines were stopped at once, but the submarine kept on firing, hitting the vessel several times. Amongst the passengers on board were two women and two children, and when it was seen that the Germans were scrutinising the ship through glasses, the children were held up so that they might be seen. Meanwhile the boats were lowered, the mate and 14 hands getting into the port boat, while the master, eight hands and the five passengers entered the starboard boat. The position was 42 miles from land, and the boats were picked up at 9.15 p.m. that night.

The fact that only one man was killed can hardly be attributed to the humanity of the Germans, who continued to shell the ship after she was hove to, and even when they knew that there were women and children on board.

The s.s. *Glenby* was overhauled by a submarine and told to abandon ship at 4.15 p.m. on the 17th August, 1915. While the crew were lowering their boats the submarine opened fire, seriously wounding one man and slightly wounding another. The shots also damaged the port life-boat, besides severing her falls. The crew in two boats were picked up at 7.15 the same evening, when it was found that two men were missing.

On the 4th September, 1915, at 12.30 a.m., the

s.s. *Cymbeline* came under fire from a submarine, which torpedoed the steamer while her crew of 37 hands were getting into their boats. The explosion destroyed one boat, causing the loss of six men. The survivors were taken into the other boat, which then contained 31 men, four of whom were seriously wounded. They were afloat for 16 hours before they fell in with a sailing vessel, which towed them to within three miles of the coast. They did not reach land, however, until 11 o'clock next morning. The position of the ship when torpedoed was 80 miles from land.

At 8.20 a.m. on the 30th November, 1915, the s.s. *Middleton* was shelled by a submarine while endeavouring to escape, one man being killed and several dangerously wounded. The crew took to the boats. The submarine ignored the boats, and returned no answer to an appeal for bandages for the wounded. It was not until ten hours afterwards that the boats were picked up, and in the meantime two of the wounded men had died. Another man died on board the ship which picked them up. There were three other wounded men, who survived.

On Wednesday, the 1st December, 1915, at 8.15 a.m., the s.s. *Clan Macleod* was shelled by a submarine while endeavouring to escape. Soon

after the ship was first hit the master stopped her, hoisted the international code signal indicating that she surrendered, and blew two blasts on his whistle. The submarine, however, again opened fire at a range of about a quarter of a mile, first blowing the bridge and captain's accommodation to bits, and then destroying the two starboard boats. This fire killed eight of the crew. All hands were now ordered into the port-side boats, the master taking charge of the life-boat, with 50 on board, while the first mate took the cutter with a crew of 20. After sinking the ship the submarine came alongside the boat, and some of the Germans bound up the wounds of the master and an apprentice. The position was 100 miles from land. The life-boat was adrift until 5.30 p.m. on Thursday, the 2nd December, when she was picked up by a steamer. The mate's boat was adrift until 2 a.m. on Saturday, the 4th December, when she was picked up by a French destroyer. In the meantime one of the wounded in this boat had died.

On the 2nd December, 1915, at 6.40 a.m., the s.s. *Commodore* was shelled by a submarine while endeavouring to escape. At 7 a.m. the vessel was stopped, one man having been killed and another severely wounded. While the crew were taking

to the boats five more men were wounded by shell fire, two of them severely. The submarine then came alongside the boats and questioned the master. The Germans refused to supply any line for the wounded men, and told the boats to clear off. The survivors were adrift for 28 hours before being picked up.

On the 9th December, 1915, at 4.20 p.m., the s.s. *Orteric* sighted a submarine and tried to escape. During the chase the fire of the submarine destroyed the starboard life-boat, killed two men, and badly wounded four others. The ship was then hit in the stern and would not steer, so the master signalled that he was stopping. The submarine, however, ignored his signal and continued firing. The crew got into three boats, in charge of the first and second officers and chief engineer, respectively. The master and two hands remained on board, having the gig ready. The three boats were about half a mile astern of the *Orteric* when the submarine fired four shots at the chief engineer's boat. All four shots missed the boat, but only by a narrow margin. The survivors were picked up an hour and a half later.

At 1.35 p.m. on Christmas Day, 1915, the s.s. *Van Stirum* was fired on by two submarines and

overhauled about an hour afterwards. At 2.32 p.m. the vessel was stopped, most of the crew embarking in two life-boats. The master, chief officer, chief engineer, and Marconi operator then got into a boat on the port side, leaving the boatswain and a seaman to lower away and follow them into the boat. One of the submarines was on the port quarter 200 yards away, and as these two men were coming down the falls, a torpedo was fired, which passed under the boat and struck the ship's side. The explosion killed both men in the falls. The position was 20 miles from land, and the survivors were picked up an hour later by a trawler.

The sinking of these seven vessels was accompanied by unnecessary loss of life. In the case of the *Glenby* there was no reason for the Germans to open fire before the crew had abandoned ship. Three men were wounded and two lost, simply because the Germans would not allow them time to enter their boats. No excuse can be advanced for the Germans. Again, with regard to the *Cymbeline*, lives were lost because she was torpedoed while her crew were taking to their boats. To destroy a life-boat and kill six men was an act of wanton murder. The destruction of the *Middleton* provides a clearer example of German

methods. When asked for bandages, the submarine held to her course and ignored the appeal. Three of the wounded men died, probably as a result of the Germans' refusal to aid them.

Eight of the *Clan Macleod's* crew were killed by German gun-fire after the ship had been hove to. This loss of life was, of course, unnecessary, and was deliberately caused by the Germans after the signal of surrender had been run up. It is true that the submarine crew bound up the wounds of the master and an apprentice; but why were the wounds ever inflicted? Very similar was the fate of the *Commodore*, which involved another cowardly attack upon men who were taking to their boats. On this occasion the Germans deliberately refused lint for the wounded, although the submarine came alongside the boats.

Even worse was the conduct of the submariners who attacked the *Orteric*. They waited until her boats were half a mile astern of the steamer, and then deliberately fired at the boat of the chief engineer. It is idle for anyone to pretend that these shots were intended for the ship; they were aimed at an open boat, and each one of the four shots very nearly hit her. Only bad shooting prevented the murder of this boat-load of defenceless seamen.

Finally, we have the sinking of the *Van Stirum* on Christmas Day, attended by the deliberate murder of two men. A torpedo was fired under one of the ship's boats while two men were coming down the falls, and the explosion killed them both. In a few more minutes these men would have been safe, and those on board the submarine, which was only 200 yards away, must have known this perfectly well. They would not wait a couple of minutes, but preferred to murder the men in cold blood. Here, as in other cases, the utter uselessness of the deed must strike any unprejudiced mind. The U-boats' mission is to sink this or that ship, but the U-boat commander appears to delight in adding murder to his daily programme.

The French Channel packet *Sussex* carried over 380 passengers, including about 270 women and children and 20 Americans, when, at 4.35 p.m. on the 24th March, 1916, she was torpedoed without warning. There were 50 casualties; but, although her bows were blown to pieces, the vessel was towed inside Boulogne breakwater and beached.

The Germans tried to evade the responsibility for this outrage by suggesting that the *Sussex* had been sunk by a British mine. They admitted

sinking a ship at the time, and in the position where the *Sussex* was sunk, but declared that it was a war vessel which they had torpedoed. That the German contentions were false was eventually proved beyond doubt, as the following evidence will show.

The American Consul at Boulogne sent this message to the Secretary of State, Washington: "*Sussex* torpedoed by German submarine incontestably proved by piece of torpedo found on board *Sussex* by Balincourt, French Commandant, le front de Mere, Boulogne."

On the 25th March, 1916, the Divisional Naval Transport officer at Boulogne writes: "I personally inspected the *Sussex* this morning, and was shown by the French authorities pieces of the torpedo which had been found in the ship, thus establishing the fact that she was torpedoed."

The reckless and unscrupulous methods of the German were well illustrated in the sinking of the *Sussex*. The U-boat commander obviously took no pains to discover what kind of vessel he was going to attack. He simply fired a torpedo and disappeared. Afterwards he tried to shuffle off the responsibility for his deed by a number of falsehoods. While admitting that he had destroyed a certain vessel at a certain time, he

declared that he believed her to have been a war vessel of the *Arabis* class. Stories founded on his statements were freely circulated by the German Government; but they were effectively answered by a British official reply in the following terms:—

1. There is no resemblance whatever between a vessel of the *Arabis* class and the *Sussex*, and it is quite impossible to mistake one vessel for the other.

2. The Germans are condemned out of their own mouths by their statement that the commander of the German submarine fired on some vessel at a certain moment. Now that certain moment was precisely the time at which the *Sussex* was attacked.

3. The German submarine commander admitted that he had destroyed the fore part of the vessel he attacked. No other ship but the *Sussex* suffered in this way.

It was unfortunate for the Germans that the *Sussex*, although so badly damaged, could be towed in and beached. Had she sunk, the German contention that her fate was due to a mine would have been more difficult to refute. When, however, pieces of a torpedo were discovered on board,

the method of her destruction was proved beyond all doubt.

Meanwhile, on the 18th April, 1916, the United States sent a Note to the German Imperial Government. The Note pointed out that—"The *Sussex* was never armed; she was a ship which, as is well known, was regularly employed only for the transport of passengers across the English Channel. She did not follow the route pursued by troop transports or munition ships. About 80 passengers, non-combatants of every age and both sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or wounded." The outrageous methods of German submarine warfare are so admirably exposed by the American Government in this official communication that we cannot do better than reproduce certain of the passages here.

"If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case," says the Note, "that would enable the Government of the United States to hope that the officer responsible for the deed arbitrarily exceeded his instructions, or in criminal negligence failed to observe the prescribed measures of precaution, and that satisfaction might be done to justice by his appropriate punishment, associated with a formal disavowal of his conduct and

the payment of appropriate compensation by the Imperial Government. But although the attack on the *Sussex* was evidently indefensible and caused so tragic a loss of human life that it appears as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of the submarine warfare as waged by the commanders of German vessels, it unhappily stands not alone."

After recalling former protests by the American Government and Germany's unlawful attempt to close a part of the high seas, the Note continues:—

"The international law, which here applies and upon which the United States Government based its protest, is not of recent origin or based on purely arbitrary principles established by agreement. On the contrary, it rests on obvious principles of humanity, and has long been in force, with the approval and the express assent of all civilised nations. The Imperial Government insisted, notwithstanding, on prosecuting the policy announced, while it expressed the hope that the existing dangers, at least for neutral ships, would be restricted to a minimum by instructions given to the commanders of its submarines, and assured the United States Government that it would apply every possible precaution to respect the

rights of neutrals and protect the lives of non-combatants.

“In pursuit of this policy of submarine warfare against its enemy’s trade, so announced and begun despite the solemn protest of the United States Government, the Imperial Government’s submarine commanders have practised a procedure of such reckless destruction as made it more and more clear during recent months that the Imperial Government has found no way to impose upon them such restrictions as it had hoped and promised. The Imperial Government has repeatedly and solemnly assured the United States Government that passenger ships, at least, would not be thus treated, and yet it has repeatedly allowed its submarine commanders to disregard these assurances with impunity. Even in February of this year it announced that it regarded armed merchantmen in enemy possession as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries, and would treat them as warships, while it bound itself, at least implicitly, to warn unarmed vessels and guarantee the lives of their passengers and crews; but their submarine commanders have freely disregarded even this restriction.

“Neutral ships, even neutral ships *en route* from neutral port to neutral port, have been

destroyed, just as hostile ships, in steadily increasing number. Attacked merchantmen have sometimes been warned and challenged to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed, sometimes the most scanty security has been granted to their passengers and crews of being allowed to enter boats before the ship was sunk; but repeatedly no warning has been given, and not even refuge in boats was granted to passengers on board. Great ships like the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic*, and purely passenger ships like the *Sussex*, have been attacked without any warning, often before they were aware they were in the presence of an armed enemy ship, and the life of non-combatants, passengers, and crews was indiscriminately destroyed in a manner which the Government of the United States could only regard as wanton and lacking every justification. Indeed, no sort of limit was set to the further indiscriminate destruction of merchantmen of every kind and nationality outside the waters which the Imperial Government has been pleased to indicate as within the war zone. The list of Americans who lost their lives on the vessels thus attacked and destroyed has increased month by month, until the terrible number of the victims has risen to hundreds ”

The German reply to America was dated 4th May, 1916, and one or two extracts will indicate its tone. After vigorously denying any "deliberate method of indiscriminate destruction of vessels of all sorts," the German Government states "that it has as far as possible instituted a far-reaching restraint upon the use of the submarine weapon solely in consideration of neutrals' interests, in spite of the fact that these restrictions were necessarily of advantage to Germany's enemies. No such consideration has ever been shown to neutrals by Great Britain and her Allies."

This last sentence is very typical of the hardy impertinence of Berlin. Later on in the Note, the German Government "notifies the Government of the United States that the German Naval Forces receive the following orders for submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit, search, and destruction of merchant vessels recognised by international law. Such vessels, both within and without the area declared as a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning, and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempts to escape or offer resistance."

On the 2nd April, 1916, the British s.s. *Simla*, while making 11 knots, was torpedoed without

warning in the Mediterranean. The explosion made a hole in her port side 30 feet by 8 feet in size, and the engines stopped of themselves. This took place at 1 p.m. Boats were lowered, and 150 of the crew embarked, the remaining 10, who were Asiatic firemen, having been killed by the explosion. After the ship had been abandoned a submarine appeared and fired seven shells into her, sinking her at 2.30 p.m. The survivors were picked up by a French patrol-boat at 5 p.m. on the same day.

The steamer *Zent* was in ballast off the Fastnet when at 10.20 p.m. on the 6th April, 1916, she was attacked by a submarine. She was struck by a torpedo in the engine-room and immediately afterwards by another in No. 3 hatch on the starboard side. She had been proceeding at $13\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and sank in two minutes. Three boats were lowered but, owing to the way on the ship, they capsized, and those who could cling to the bottom of an upturned boat. Forty-nine men were drowned; eleven men and two corpses were picked up $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours later, two of the rescued being slightly injured and taken to hospital.

The loss of life was due to the vessel being torpedoed without any warning. If the Germans had allowed even a short period of grace, it is

probable that there would have been no casualties. To sink a ship while proceeding at full speed is equivalent to murder, and, as in other similar cases, this was unnecessary murder.

The British steamer *Whitgift* was torpedoed and sunk on the 20th April, 1916, but there are no details about the occurrence, as the whole of her crew, except one Japanese, were drowned. This survivor was taken prisoner by the Germans. The only particulars about the sinking of the ship are contained in a letter which he wrote:—

“I am now in Lager Holzminden Barrack 4. On the 20 April our schip has been torpedoed by a German U-boot and only I have been saved by the German U-boot and now I am prisoner.”

The Great Eastern Railway Company's steamer *Brussels*, while on voyage from the Hook of Holland to Tilbury, was captured by the Germans in the early morning of the 23rd of June and taken into Zeebrugge. The master of the vessel was Captain Charles Fryatt. On the 29th of July the text of a German official announcement appeared in the *Times*:—

“On Thursday, at Bruges, before the Court-Martial of the Marine Corps, the trial took place of Captain Charles Fryatt, of the British steamer *Brussels*, which was brought in as a prize.

"The accused was condemned to death because, although he was not a member of a combatant force, he made an attempt on the afternoon of 28th March, 1915, to ram the German submarine U33 near the Maas Lightship. The accused, as well as the first officer and the chief engineer of the steamer, received at the time from the British Admiralty a gold watch, as a reward for his brave conduct on that occasion, and his action was mentioned with praise in the House of Commons.

"On the occasion in question, disregarding the U-boat's signal to stop and show his national flag he turned at a critical moment at high speed on the submarine, which escaped the steamer by a few meters only, by immediately diving. He confessed that in so doing he had acted in accordance with the instructions of the Admiralty. The sentence was confirmed yesterday (Thursday) afternoon and carried out by shooting.

"One of the many nefarious *franc-tireur* proceedings of the British merchant marine against our war vessels has thus found a belated, but merited, expiation."

Even in face of the German official announcement quoted, the British Government were unwilling to believe that the murder of Captain Fryatt had indeed taken place. The Foreign Office communicated with the American Ambassador at Berlin, asking that the facts of the case might be ascertained. This communication stated that "His Majesty's Government find it difficult

to believe that a master of a merchant vessel who, after German submarines adopted the practice of sinking merchant vessels without warning and without regard for the lives of passengers or crew, took a step which appeared to afford the only chance of saving not only his vessel, but the lives of all on board, can have been deliberately shot in cold blood for this action. If the German Government have in fact perpetrated such a crime in the case of a British subject held prisoner by them, it is evident that a most serious condition of affairs has arisen."

The murder was referred to in the House of Commons and reported in the *Times* of the 1st August, 1916. In reply to a question by Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Asquith made the following reply:—

"I deeply regret to say that it appears to be true that Captain Fryatt has been murdered by the Germans. His Majesty's Government have heard with the utmost indignation of this atrocious crime against the law of nations and the usages of war. Coming as it does contemporaneously with the lawless cruelties to the population of Lille and other occupied districts of France, it shows that the German High Command have, under the stress of military defeat, renewed their policy of terrorism.

"It is impossible to guess to what further atrocities they may proceed. His Majesty's Government, there-

fore, desire to repeat emphatically that they are resolved that such crimes shall not, if they can help it, go unpunished. When the time arrives they are determined to bring to justice the criminals, whoever they may be, and whatever their station. In such cases as this the man who authorises the system under which such crimes are committed may well be the most guilty of all."

The circumstances connected with Captain Fryatt's death are not disputed by either side; everyone can, therefore, form his own opinion about the case. It is as well to remember, however, that Germany declared a blockade of the British Isles in February, 1915, a month before Captain Fryatt encountered the U33, and that the U-boat pirates were employing methods of "frightfulness" in March, 1915.

The captain was perfectly justified in believing that the U33 would sink his ship without giving those aboard her time to enter their boats. He acted as any man of spirit would have acted in similar circumstances, and the German defence of his murder breaks down when we recall the conduct of the U-boat commanders at that time. On the very day when Captain Fryatt met the U33 another German submarine was sinking the s.s. *Falaba*, without giving the passengers or crew time to abandon ship. The *Falaba*, it will be

remembered, sank in eight minutes, with a loss of 104 lives. Was not Captain Fryatt justified in saving his crew from the chances of a similar fate?

On the 21st September the s.s. *Curamalan* proceeded to sea. She had been in the service of the Argentine Republic for twenty years, and could not, therefore, be classed as a ship transferred for use during the war. Her owners were subjects of the Republic, and she was chartered by the Argentine Whaling Company to carry coal from Newport (Wales) to South Georgia. Such vessels are in the habit of speaking St Vincent, Cape Verde, *en route*, but the *Curamalan* did not do so. She has been missing "without trace" since the date of her sailing, and it has been presumed by the authorities that she was sunk in European waters.

It will be remembered that while Argentina was in controversy with the German Government about the destruction of her ships by submarines, Count Luxburg, the German *Chargé d'Affaires* in Buenos Ayres, was sending home, by way of the Swedish Foreign Office, recommendations that certain vessels should be sunk "without a trace." That was in July, 1917, but the total loss of the *Curamalan* and her crew of 29 suggests the sus-

icion that this policy of sinking "without a trace" dates a good deal further back.

The British steamship *North Wales* left Hull bound for Canada on the 20th October, 1916, and on the 10th November the Canadian naval authorities reported her as overdue. On the 11th November the German Wireless Press gave the name of this vessel in their list of torpedoed ships, so that, although details are lacking, her fate is fairly certain. She was sunk almost without trace. One piece of varnished wood marked "*North Wales*" was washed ashore in Sennen Cove, and one or two bodies reached the Cornish coast. That is all. If her crew had time to make to their boats, after being torpedoed, they were probably drowned, as violent gales were raging at the time.

The British s.s. *Cabotia* carried a crew of 74. She was on voyage from Montreal to Liverpool, and had encountered bad weather most of the way. On the morning of the 20th October there was a strong gale blowing from the S.W. and a heavy sea running. At about 12.20 p.m. a German submarine was sighted on the starboard bow and at once opened fire with her forward gun. Her first shot struck the steamer about amidships on the starboard side, but the master turned

her stern to the submarine and put on full speed. The U-boat continued firing at the rate of a shot every five minutes, and out of seven shots she obtained four hits.

The steamer's boats were now swung out, though all hands realised that probably they would not live long in such a sea. The submarine kept trying to get on the *Cabotia's* quarter, but she was kept well astern. However, she continued to gain on the steamship, and by 2 p.m. was close astern. The engines were stopped, four boats were lowered, manned and got clear of the steamer without mishap. Of these boats, Nos. 1 and 2 were in charge of the master and third officer, respectively, while the second officer took No. 3 boat and the chief officer No. 4.

The submarine, after again shelling the *Cabotia*, went alongside another steamer which now approached. The boats proceeded in the same direction, hoping to be picked up; but the steamer, after communicating with the U-boat, blew two blasts on her whistle, apparently saluting the submarine, and steamed away. The third and fourth boats, carrying 42 men altogether, were picked up by a patrol boat; but the other two boats were never seen again, 32 lives being lost.

It goes without saying that the submarine commander could have saved every one of these lives, had he told the steamer whom he closed to pick up the *Cabotia's* boats. Apart from this, it is the opinion of the survivors that those on board the strange steamer saw their signals of distress, shirts hoisted on oars, but deliberately ignored them.

About the fate of the British s.s. *Rappahannock* there was some doubt at the time of her disappearance, but it has since been established that she was sunk on the 26th October, 1916. In November the Admiralty received a message from the owners of the vessel to the effect that information had been received by them from Captain Cuvellier, of the Belgian Marine Department, that an inquest had been held at Porranporth on a body washed ashore on the 8th November. This was the body of a donkeyman named Theakins, one of the crew of the *Rappahannock*. Then came news from the s.s. *Corinthian*, who reported that on the 9th November she found a quantity of deals, wood pulp, and barrels of apples afloat 60 miles west from the Scilly Islands. These articles formed part of the *Rappahannock's* cargo.

On the 27th January, 1917, Berlin published the following announcement:—

"The English steamer *Rappahannock* was forced to stop by a German submarine on 26th October, 1916, following a pursuit of some length, and sunk after the crew had been given ample time to leave the vessel. The distance from the point of sinking to the Scillies was about 70 nautical miles, wind and sea were W.S.W. of the third strength. The safety of the crew, who had entered the boats, appeared to the commander of the submarine to be guaranteed, inasmuch as the life-boats were in good condition and well equipped with sails and provisions, and were able to reach land quickly and safely in view of the favourable sailing wind, which pointed towards land, and the slight sea."

If the weather conditions had, indeed, been all that the German commander here claims, it is fairly certain that most of the crew would have reached land. As a matter of fact, not a single member of the steamer's crew was ever seen alive again. The inevitable conclusion is that the weather must have been unfavourable, and that the German commander must have known what the fate of the crew would be.

On the 6th November, 1916, the British passenger steamship *Arabia* was torpedoed in the Mediterranean without warning. She carried 437

passengers, of whom many were women and children, and a crew of 304. The torpedo struck her in the engine-room at 11.22 a.m., the explosion killing 11 men. The engines stopped at once, and the wireless was rendered useless. There was no confusion on board, the last boat leaving the ship at 11.37 a.m., and the only casualties were those caused by the explosion.

The following message, addressed to Wolff's Telegraph Bureau, Berlin, from a German in New York, was afterwards intercepted by the Admiralty:—

“In Washington deep impression was made by German Admiralty's announcement that German submarine sunk *Arabia*. There was even surprise expressed that attack on *Arabia* was semi-officially admitted. Admiralty's explanation is considered as incomprehensible because *Arabia*, according to information received here, was ordinary passenger liner with many passengers on board, not carrying troops nor being under British Government charter.”

Only the splendid efficiency of officers and crew and the coolness of the passengers on board the *Arabia* prevented a terrible tragedy. To abandon ship successfully in fifteen minutes was a fine

feat which averted a big disaster. The Germans who torpedoed this passenger ship without warning cannot, however, be allowed any credit for the small loss of life. It is quite obvious that they did not care whether the women and children perished or not.

The British steamship *Moresby* was torpedoed without warning on the 28th November, 1916. This ship at once settled down by the stern, and as she disappeared in 1½ minutes there was no possibility of getting any of the boats out or doing anything to save life. The submarine was not seen. The chief officer, his wife, one A.B. and 29 Chinamen were lost. The master, second mate, second and third engineers, one A.B. and seven Chinamen were saved.

James Rose, second hand, was on the deck of the British sailing trawler *Trevone* at half-past three in the afternoon of 30th January, 1917, when a German submarine suddenly appeared on the surface and opened fire. Her second shot hit the peak halyards, and the master and crew immediately took to their boat. They were ordered alongside the submarine and told to board her. In attempting to obey, the master and cook were both washed overboard. These two men could easily have been rescued, but the Germans took

not the slightest notice of them. The master was seen hanging on to the submarine's side, aft, for over ten minutes, but finally disappeared.

The remaining three hands were searched and relieved of their knives and money. They then had to write their names and ages upon a piece of paper, and were afterwards taken before the commanding officer, who examined them through a junior officer who spoke English.

The men noticed several chocolate-coloured bags hanging in the submarine, marked U55. They were given tea, and at 5 p.m. the U-boat submerged, and appeared to be stationary until 10 p.m., although the engines were kept running. She then came to the surface and remained there all night. The men were given hammocks to sleep in, but could not sleep, so talked to the submarine's crew, who said they had sunk seven sailing vessels that day. At 9 a.m. next morning they had breakfast; at 10.45 they were ordered on deck, and received their knives back. The German officers kept eight shillings of their money. Finally they were sent off in the boat of a French schooner, and were fortunate enough to be picked up five hours later.

The worst feature of this case is the callous disregard shown by the Germans when the master

and cook fell into the sea. These two men were allowed to drown right under the eyes of the Germans. After all, the poor fellows were only trying to carry out the U-boat commander's order when they fell overboard, and the dictates of common decency would have caused any ordinary civilised man to have made at least some sort of effort to rescue them. No great effort would have been necessary; their own comrades could have picked up both men, if the Germans had allowed this.

Instead, the commander preferred to leave the master clinging to the side of the submarine until the icy winter water and his failing strength obliged the wretched man to relax his hold and sink to his death. It is a disgusting incident, which fills the mind with indignation against the man who could permit such a thing to happen.

Unfortunately, we cannot put these Germans down as exceptional types. From what happened afterwards, they appear to have been just ordinary members of the U-boat service. They did not, for example, ill-treat their prisoners while on board the submarine; and beyond the theft of a few shillings by the German officers, the trawler's crew had no ground for complaint. But the

whole incident shows the low standard of morality prevailing among German submariners. Two men allowed to drown; eight shillings stolen from the survivors. That is all, and apparently such trifling incidents are taken as a matter of course in the German submarine service. What can be said for such men? How can normal people understand their motives?

The British steamer *Evestone* left Barry Docks on the 1st February, 1917, for Gibraltar. On the 3rd February, she was 100 miles W. by S.W. of the Fastnets when she sighted a submarine. The German opened fire at 3,000 yards and soon found the range. Firing at the rate of a shot a minute, she struck the steamer repeatedly, and continued firing while the crew took to their boats. As soon as the boats had dropped astern of their ship, the submarine turned her gun upon them at short range, firing three shrapnel shells and striking both boats. The third shell killed the master, the steward, and a donkeyman, wounded two able seamen, and severely wounded the second officer in the right arm.

The submarine now called the first mate on board and questioned him, but no enquiries were made as to the *Evestone's* losses, and no help was

suggested. The boats were picked up that same night by the Norwegian barque *Regna*.

Here is a typical case of the pirate as murderer. Having done his best to kill the steamer's crew, while they were taking to their boats, he deliberately turns his gun against the open boats as soon as they are manned and clear of the vessel. Without any shadow of pretext, the pirate kills three men and wounds three others in this way. The number of men killed was of no interest to the German. He did not even enquire as to the result of his shrapnel fire, and of course it never occurred to him to offer the survivors any help.

On the 7th February, 1917, at 11.30 a.m., in squally weather the *Vulcana* sighted a German submarine on her starboard boom, about 1 mile distant. The U-boat at once opened fire. She found the range after firing half-a-dozen shots.

The skipper gave orders for the boat to be lowered, and while the tackle was being carried forward, he stood close by the engine-room door on the starboard side of the deck. The second hand was standing about 2 feet away from him at the time. Just afterwards a shell exploded close by. One piece struck the second hand's boot and another cut his hand slightly. The skipper was struck on the top of the head; his

head was smashed in and part of his face was blown away. The second hand heard him say: "Dear me," and he fell to the deck, dead.

George King, the second hand, now took charge. Shells continued to burst about the deck; one passed through the galley and struck the trimmer, wounding him severely in the back. After the boat had been got out she capsized, and had to be righted before the crew could get in. The skipper being dead, they left him where he had fallen, and he went down with his ship. George King followed the crew into their boat, and soon after she had got clear the ship went down, about noon. The submarine then submerged and disappeared. The survivors were picked up by a patrol-boat at noon on the following day. The trimmer was taken to hospital, where he afterwards died.

The *Vulcana* was a British trawler, although from the savageness of the German attack, it might have been thought that she was a warship. The lives of the skipper and trimmer were sacrificed to German blood lust. The trawler could have been sunk without any loss of life.

On the morning of the 7th February, 1917, the British steamers *St. Ninian* and *Corsican Prince* were within a quarter of a mile of one

another. A U-boat torpedoed the *Corsican Prince*, striking No. 3 hold and bursting her engine-room bulkhead. The *St. Ninian* was then sunk. She went down in five minutes. Both ships were torpedoed without warning, the casualties being 15 in the case of the *St. Ninian* and one in the *Corsican Prince*.

The British steamship *California* carried 32 passengers and a crew of 171 hands; she was bound from New York to Glasgow. On the morning of the 7th February, 1917, the weather was fine and clear, the wind was N.E., and there was a heavy swell running. At 9.30 a.m., the master and two junior officers being on the bridge, a periscope was sighted about 250 yards away on the port quarter. The master at once ordered the helm hard aport and a S.O.S. signal to be sent out, but before the vessel had paid off 3 points a torpedo struck her on the port quarter, about No. 4 hatch, and the submarine was not seen again.

The engine-room was flooded. Boats were lowered on both sides to the level of the bridge deck to embark the passengers; but the ship was settling down quickly by the stern, and before the boats could be lowered they were afloat. A number of passengers were in the boats when they

took the water, and one on the starboard side was overturned, the passengers being thrown into the water. Another boat, which had to be cut loose, threw three people into the water. Ten boats got clear of the ship, which sank at 9.30 a.m., the master remaining on the bridge. He was picked up half-an-hour later by one of the boats. A patrol-boat had taken in the S.O.S. signal and arrived on the scene in time to rescue 160 survivors.

Forty-three lives were lost by drowning and injuries, and there were thirty cot cases among the survivors. A few facts reveal the tragic side of the occurrence. Seven women and four children were killed; three young children were saved, their mother being lost; one small boy was saved, while the bodies of his mother, brother and sister were afterwards washed ashore.

The facts speak for themselves and make comment almost superfluous. The passengers and crew never got a fair chance of saving themselves, as the vessel was torpedoed without any kind of warning.

At 7 a.m. on the 10th February, 1917, a shot was fired at the British steamship *Sallagh* by a submarine on her starboard quarter. The submarine then hoisted the signal "abandon ship," and while the boat was being got ready, fired

again, killing the chief engineer and seriously wounding two other men. The Germans afterwards placed bombs in the vessel, and fired two shots into her. The second caused an explosion and the ship sank. Having provided bandages for the wounded men, the Germans rigged their craft like a smack and lay off about 5 miles in wait for another victim. The ship's boat was picked up at 4.30 p.m. on the same day.

The British steamship *Afric* was 12 miles S.S.W. of the Eddystone Lighthouse at about 5.15 a.m. on the 12th February, 1917. Suddenly a torpedo struck her on the starboard side about abreast of the engine-room, causing a terrific explosion, which stopped the engines, put out all lights, broke the telegraphs, and brought the aerial down. The engineers and greasers on watch at the time were killed. The rest of the crew left the ship and stood by in eight boats, leaving the master, first officer and steward on board. At 6 a.m. a second explosion occurred on the port side abreast of No. 1 hold. The ship was finally abandoned after this, and at about 6.20 a.m. a submarine appeared, questioned the master, and then shelled the ship, which sank at 7.45 a.m. The boats were picked up about 5 hours later. Five men were killed, probably by the first explosion.

The steamer *Sallagh* appears to have been shelled as a matter of course while her boats were being got out. Otherwise there would have been no loss of life and no wounded on board. As the submarine took the trouble to hoist the signal "abandon ship," which was at once obeyed, she had no excuse for the subsequent shelling. The case is one of wholly unnecessary murder, although the Germans were not so callous as on some occasions.

At 11.15 p.m. on the 17th February, the British steamer *Valdes* was torpedoes without warning. It was a pitch-dark night, and nothing was seen before the explosion of the torpedo. The master and seven of the crew were thrown into the water as the ship went down; three men went down with her. The port life-boat was successfully launched, and 20 members of the crew embarked. The starboard life-boat was blown to pieces. A trawler picked up the 20 survivors, but two of them died from exposure. Eleven men lost their lives.

The British steamship *Laconia* was sunk on the 25th February. She carried a crew of 217 and 77 passengers. When about 140 miles from the S.W. of Ireland, at 10.53 at night, she was torpedoed without warning and began to list to starboard. The boats were quickly lowered; all the

passengers and most of the crew embarked before a second torpedo struck the ship. Those left on board then abandoned her, and the submarine soon afterwards came to the surface, wished the boats' companies "good night," and disappeared. The *Laconia* went down at about 11.48 p.m.

Although her boats had been lowered, the task had not been accomplished without mishap. Life-boat No. 8 had bumped several times against the steamer's side, owing to the jamming of ropes and the ship's big list. The boat took the water bow first, and when her stern was released, she plunged, shipping a lot of water. She was considerably damaged before getting clear, with the result that she was awash, except for the raised portion of her bow and stern, when she did eventually get clear. Every wave washed over the boat's company, whose sufferings were deplorable.

About two hours after leaving the ship, a first-class passenger named Mr. Robinson, who was in delicate health, died from exposure, and his body was washed overboard. A lady was the next to die, but her daughter, not realising what had happened, continued to support her mother's body. An hour later the daughter herself passed away. A coloured sailor was the next to suc-

cumb. Then a fireman, who was sitting on one of the thwarts, allowed his head to sink into the water and so was drowned. A gentleman passenger was now seen to be dead, and a lady, who was his friend, became hysterical. To soothe her, it was pretended that the man had only fainted, and his body was kept in the boat. Fifteen minutes afterwards a fireman lurched overboard and was drowned. At 9 o'clock next morning the boat was picked up. All the other boats had been picked up before daylight. Twelve lives were lost.

The British sailing vessel *Galgorm Castle* carried a crew of 24. At 5.30 p.m. on the 27th February, 1917, the ship was sunk by the Germans with bombs. The crew left in two boats, but became separated in the darkness. One boat capsized, drowning four men; the remaining eight clung to her, but seven of them died from exposure. The twelfth man, a Russian, was picked up on the 7th March. The second boat, with her 12 survivors, was picked up.

At 6.50 a.m. on the 1st March, 1917, while the British trawler *Redcap* was hauling in her trawl, a U-boat appeared and fired several shells at her. One deck-hand was killed, the mate had his leg blown off, and two other hands were injured. The

survivors got away in their boat, and were picked up at 12.30 p.m. The trawler was sunk by the Germans.

At 2.30 a.m. on the 17th March, the British steamer *Tasso* was torpedoed by a U-boat at sight, without any kind of warning. The vessel went down head-first, and the inrush of water against the fore-castle and cabin doors prevented these from being opened. In this way many of the crew perished. The master and eighteen of the crew were drowned, six men being saved; two of these were slightly injured in the head. They were picked up by a French patrol steamer.

The British steamer *Joshua Nicholson* was torpedoed by a German submarine without warning at 6.30 a.m. on the 18th March, 1917. She began to settle down very rapidly, with a heavy list to starboard. While the port life-boat was being lowered she capsized, and three men were drowned. Another man was blown into the water by an explosion. After the ship had gone down, six men came to the surface and clung to pieces of wreckage. Of these, three sank during the next five hours, the remaining three being picked up at about 5 p.m., exhausted but alive.

The *Joshua Nicholson* and *Galgorm Castle* are

two ordinary instances of German sinkings. The survivors in both cases underwent considerable sufferings, which were in no way mitigated by the Germans. No tow was offered and no assistance of any kind rendered to the crews.

The British steamship *Alnwick Castle* was in the Atlantic, 320 miles from land, on the 19th March. She carried a crew of 100, together with 14 passengers; she also had on board the master and 24 survivors of the s.s. *Trevose*, whom she had rescued on the previous day from their boats. She had, therefore, 138 souls on board, when at 6 a.m. she was torpedoed without warning by a submerged German submarine. The boats were lowered as quickly as possible, and in about 10 minutes the steamer plunged under water, bow first. Her whistle gave one blast; the main topmast broke off; there was a smothered roar, a cloud of dust, and she had disappeared.

The submarine had come to the surface and trained her gun on the steamer, but no shots were necessary to complete the sinking, and she steamed away without even speaking the boats. One of these was in charge of the chief officer, and contained 31 people, including two women and a four-months old baby. There was a considerable swell running, with a moderate wind, so all sail

was hoisted, and the boats proceeded to the N.E. in single file, keeping in touch with one another for the remainder of the day.

During the night both wind and sea increased considerably, and the chief officer's boat had lost touch with the others by the following morning, which was Tuesday. At 10 a.m. the weather compelled them to take in all sail, and they lay-to, keeping her head-on to the enormous seas with the help of a sea-anchor and the occasional use of the oars. They proceeded in this way throughout the day and during Tuesday night, which was very dark. They were thankful to see day break on Wednesday. They had lost their sea-anchor in the night, so lashed a couple of oars together, which served as a fairly good substitute. The weather improved during the morning, so they hoisted sail again and proceeded east.

During Tuesday night the *chef* had gone mad, and on Wednesday he died. Being accustomed to the warmth of a galley fire, he could not stand the cold. Meanwhile, the chief officer had taken control of the provisions and water. He served out the water in the morning and evening at the rate of half a dipper-full to each person. During Wednesday night the storekeeper went mad and had to be lashed down. He died about noon on

Thursday, and a third-class passenger also expired on the same day.

That night there were heavy squalls, so they had to take in sail and put out their improvised sea-anchor. On Friday morning the weather moderated, and they were able to set full sail again. An A.B. died during the day, and everyone had now begun to endure agonies of thirst. They continued to sail all Friday night, but exposure and exhaustion were reducing them to a state of callousness, and at times they suffered from light-headedness. These attacks were worse in the night than by daylight. On Saturday morning a fireman was found dead in the bottom of the boat, and during the day a third-class pantry-boy died.

There was little doubt in the chief officer's mind that the secret drinking of salt water was hastening the death of many. He did his best to prevent it, but he was working watch and watch at the tiller, and there are limits to what one man can accomplish. They drifted with sail down all through the night of Saturday, there being no stars to steer by; but sail was re-hoisted at daybreak on Sunday. A cattleman, who had been behaving in a peculiar way for two days, made three attempts to jump overboard, and at last succeeded.

The enfeebled state of his shipmates rendered his rescue impossible, although they turned the boat round and sailed about in the position where he had disappeared.

To-day their last tot of water was served out—a mouthful apiece—and they tried to collect rain water from the occasional showers that swept past them. Everything was saturated with salt, however, so that the little they caught was undrinkable. Then they took to licking the oars, the tiller, the seats and the woodwork of the boat, in their frantic efforts to gather up the rain-drops; but the salt spray came flying in-board continually and frustrated their hopes. At last a happy thought occurred to them; they broke up the empty water-breaker and licked the inside, which they found to be saturated with moisture and delicious to their parched tongues. That night the deck-boy, who had been quietly sinking all day, passed away.

They sighted land at 3 p.m. on Monday, and made what haste they could to approach it. This they accomplished late in the evening, but darkness had set in and there was a heavy northerly swell, which rendered any attempt at landing too dangerous. They lay-to, therefore, awaiting daylight. Their mast was carried away at the heel

during a squall, but it acted as a sea-anchor, and in the morning they pulled in towards the shore until their strength gave out. Then two fishing-boats were observed coming out from the harbour, and they towed the survivors into Carino.

The villagers, headed by the priest, came to the assistance of the boat's company, most of whom were unable to walk. The linen-keeper died as he was being lifted ashore; two of the crew, who had gone mad, refused to leave the boat, and had to be dragged out. The villagers were very kind, and carried the survivors to their cottages, while their wives paid special attention to the two women and the baby. This morsel of humanity seemed well enough at Carino, but died six days after being admitted to hospital at Ferrol. A trimmer died of gangrene in the same hospital two weeks later. The chief officer bears testimony to the splendid behaviour of the boat's crew during the eight days of hardship and exposure which they endured. Forty lives were lost through the sinking of the *Alnwick Castle*.

When about 150 miles S.E. of Cape Clear, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of 29th April, the British steamer *Daleby* was torpedoed without warning. She was struck twice, the second torpedo blowing up all the life-boats and causing her to sink imme-

diately. The last man to leave the ship dived off as she was sinking. The submarine then came to the surface and circled round him, but no attempt was made to pick him up. Afterwards he noticed the ship's dinghy floating a little way off, and swam towards it. The wind, however, was behind him, and kept blowing the boat away, so that he did not reach her for two hours.

Having baled her out, he returned to the scene of the disaster, where he managed to pick up a fireman, who had been wounded in the head and was unconscious. He revived this man, and together they started rowing for land, although the fireman was not able to do much work. They were at sea in the dinghy for 24 hours, when they were picked up by a steamer, having rowed 30 miles. Through the sinking of the *Daleby* 26 men perished.

When about 8 miles south of Beachy Head on the 20th May, the British steamer *Tycho* was torpedoed without warning and began to go down by the head. The order to abandon ship was given at 5.10 p.m., ten minutes after the ship had been struck, and was carried out without casualties. The vessel went down at 5.20. The crew then pulled towards the steamship *Portherry*, which had seen the explosion and was stand-

ing by about 200 yards away on the port beam.

As the *Tycho's* boats came alongside her, another torpedo was discharged by the submarine. This blew up one of the boats, killing the master and 14 men, and capsized the other boat. The *Porthkerry* was abandoned, with eight casualties, the vessel going down in three minutes after being struck by the torpedo. The survivors from both ships were picked up at 7 o'clock that night by a small coasting steamer and landed at Newhaven at midnight on the 21st May.

The British steamer *Clan Murray* was about 30 miles south of the Fastnets on the 29th May when she was torpedoed without warning, being struck amidships on the starboard side. The boiler and engine-rooms were immediately filled with water, the vessel listed heavily to starboard and foundered within five minutes. The submarine then appeared and circled round the wreckage, taking the third officer and one other man prisoners. She then made off in a westerly direction. The survivors clung to floating wreckage for six hours before being picked up. Sixty-four men lost their lives; 12 were saved; two were taken prisoners.

The sinking of the *Tycho* and *Porthkerry* is a

conspicuous instance of German callousness. The U-boat commander waited until the *Tycho's* boats were alongside the *Porthkerry* before discharging his second torpedo, and thereby killed 15 men without the slightest excuse or necessity. He could have torpedoed the *Porthkerry* before those life-boats were alongside her, but apparently he preferred that her sinking should be accompanied by loss of life. There seems to be no other explanation of his conduct.

The schooner *Jane Williamson*, of Arklow, met with a small German submarine off the coast of Cornwall at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th September, 1917. The submarine opened fire at 150 yards range. Her first shot smashed one of the boats, the second killed a man. There were five men left, who got into their second boat, when a shell struck her, killing one man outright and mortally wounding the skipper and another man. The Germans beckoned the boat to them, in order to laugh at the survivors. The U-boat then submerged.

The skipper lived long enough to be landed and taken to hospital, where he died. The two dead seamen were buried at Penzance. An inquest was held upon their bodies, and the coroner described the Germans' conduct as diabolical, the jury re-

turning a unanimous verdict of "wilful and diabolical murder."

On the 11th September, 1917, the schooner *William*, of Dublin, was attacked by a U-boat, which, after sinking her, fired on her crew with shrapnel, wounding one man.

The sinking of the *Jane Williamson* has been included under the heading of "Murder," but it might as appropriately have been labelled "Barbarity." The Germans displayed a callous disregard for human life, and after killing two men, signalled the boat alongside, in order that they might mock the dying. Plain men will agree with the jury's verdict of wilful and diabolical murder. The Germans' behaviour was that of savages.

The crew of the schooner *William* were lucky enough to escape with one man wounded, but the Germans' intention was again murder.

The French sailing barquentine *Mimosa* had a crew of 31. On the 24th September, 1917, when 23 miles S.W. of the Scilly Islands, with a cargo of salt fish, she was attacked by a German submarine. It was 6 p.m., the weather was clear, the sea calm, and the visibility good. A submarine appeared and at 6.15 p.m. opened fire on the Frenchman. When 23 shots had been fired the ship was abandoned by all except the master,

who refused to leave his vessel and was killed at the wheel by shrapnel. The submarine, which appeared to be an old one, dirty-grey in colour, and showing no number, closed the *Mimosa* to 150 yards on the surface. One German officer was seen, a thin, clean-shaven man, with dark hair and sunken cheeks. He ordered six men from one of the boats to board the submarine, and lined them up on deck forward of his gun. Soon afterwards the hatches of the submarine were closed, and she submerged, throwing the men into the sea without any means of saving themselves. The men were lucky enough to be able to reach their boats, however. Two boats, carrying 15 men altogether, were picked up by a British destroyer, and three boats, carrying the other 15 men, rowed to the Scilly Islands. The master was buried at sea by the crew of the destroyer.

The German appears to have had in mind his fellow-countryman's exploit with the crew of the *Belgian Prince*. But he had not studied the case carefully enough, and so his victims were able to escape. To line up half-a-dozen men on the deck of the submarine and then to submerge was obviously an attempt to commit deliberate murder, and for this reason the case of the *Mimosa* has been included in this chapter.

The s.s. *Elmsgarth* was torpedoed without warning at 7.15 p.m. on the 29th September, and abandoned a quarter of an hour afterwards. A U-boat then appeared and fired a shell between the life-boats. The master's boat was then hailed alongside the submarine in order that he might be questioned by the commander. The master pointed out that his boat was half full of water, and asked for a baler, but this the commander refused to supply, adding that his duty was not to save life, but to destroy it.

Before the boat shoved off from the submarine, a Mexican fireman, Daniel Vaca by name, jumped on board the U-boat and claimed protection as a neutral. The Germans' response to this appeal was to deprive the man of his passport and order him back into the life-boat. Good fortune favoured the boats, which made for the Irish coast in safety.

THE PIRATE AS BARBARIAN

A Selection of Cases

s.s. <i>Amiral Ganteaume</i>	26th Oct., 1914.
Relief-ship <i>Harpalyce</i>	10th April, 1915.
s.s. <i>Lusitania</i>	7th May, 1915.
s.s. <i>Arabic</i>	19th Aug., 1915.
Relief-ship <i>Ashmore</i>	12th Sept., 1915.
s.s. <i>Persia</i>	30th Dec., 1915.
Relief-ship <i>Euphrates</i>	22nd Jan., 1917.
Relief-ship <i>Lars Kruse</i>	3rd Feb., 1917.
s.s. <i>Thracia</i>	27th March, 1917.
Hospital-ship <i>Lanfranc</i> } and s.s. <i>Donegal</i> }	17th April, 1917.
s.s. <i>Addah</i>	1st June, 1917.
s.s. <i>Mariston</i>	15th July, 1917.
s.s. <i>Vanland</i>	23rd July, 1917.
s.s. <i>Belgian Prince</i>	31st July, 1917.

CHAPTER III

THE PIRATE AS BARBARIAN

"We Germans represent the latest and highest achievement of European Kultur." *—PROFESSOR A. LASSON.

ON the 25th November, 1914, the British Admiralty announced that on 26th October, 1914, the French passenger steamer *Amiral Ganteaume*, while on passage from Calais to Havre with upwards of 2,000 unarmed refugees, including a very large proportion of women and children on board, was torpedoed. By pure chance and the greatest good fortune, the British steamship *Queen* was within a short distance of the *Amiral Ganteaume*, and succeeded in rescuing most of the passengers, only about 40 being killed. Subsequent examination of one of the vessel's damaged life-boats led to the discovery of a fragment of a German torpedo. The Admiralty announcement concluded:—

"This action of destroying with aim and deliberation in broad daylight a defenceless passenger ship, full of refugees, is on the whole the

* *German Speeches in Difficult Days*, 1914 (p. 13).

best specimen of German methods yet recorded."

On the 10th April, 1915, at 9.55 a.m., the Belgian relief-ship *Harpalyce* was torpedoed without warning 26 miles from land. At the time of the attack the vessel was flying the Belgian Relief Commission's flag and displaying screens on both sides, marked: "Commission Belgian Relief, Rotterdam," in letters 2½ feet high. The ship had also been granted a safe conduct by the German consul at the Hague. After being struck she went down by the stern and sank in five minutes. Seventeen of the crew, including the master, were lost. As the ship sank, the third officer saw the periscope of a submarine going away to the northward.

The liner *Lusitania* was 30,395 tons gross register; she carried 1,257 passengers, and a crew of 702, making a total of 1,959 persons on board. Of the passengers 688 were men, 440 women, and 129 children. When 11 miles from land on the 17th May, 1915, at 2.15 p.m., the ship was struck on the starboard side, almost simultaneously, by two torpedoes, while a third, which missed the ship, was fired at her port side shortly afterwards.

On being struck, the vessel took a heavy list to starboard. This made it impossible

to launch the port side boats properly, and rendered it very difficult for the passengers to get into the starboard boats, which were thrown too far outboard. The port boats, of course, came inboard, and some of them, catching on the rail, were capsized.

Those which did reach the water were seriously damaged and leaking. The ship sank in less than twenty minutes after being struck, and 1,198 men, women, and children were consequently drowned.

Perhaps the most effective comment upon the destruction of the *Lusitania* may be found in the German Naval Prize Regulations. This is Article 116:—

“Before the destruction of a vessel, all persons on board are to be placed in safety, with their goods and chattels, if possible, and all ship’s papers and other relevant documents which, in the opinion of the parties interested, are of value for the decision of the Prize Court are to be taken over by the commander.”

The American protest against the sinking of the *Lusitania* was answered by the German Note of 8th July, 1915, extracts from which are here given:—

“The Imperial Government learned with satis-

faction how earnestly the Government of the United States is concerned in seeing that the principles of humanity are realised in the present war. This appeal also finds a ready echo in Germany, and the Imperial Government is quite willing to permit its statements and decisions in the present case to be governed by the principles of humanity, just as it has always done. . . . Germany has always been tenacious of the principle that war should be conducted against the armed and organised forces of an enemy country but that the enemy civilian population must be spared as far as possible from the measures of war. . . . If the commander of the submarine which destroyed the *Lusitania* had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo this would have meant the certain destruction of his own vessel. . . . It was to be expected that a mighty ship like the *Lusitania* would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing of the vessel, to permit the passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly-explosive materials, defeated this expectation. In addition, it may be pointed out that if the *Lusitania* had been spared thousands of cases of

ammunition would have been sent to Germany's enemies, and thereby thousands of German mothers and children would have been robbed of their bread-winners. . . . The Imperial Government will always be ready to do all it can in the present war to prevent the jeopardising of the lives of American citizens. The Imperial Government, therefore, repeats its assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping, and that the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy."

On the 1st September, 1915, Count Bernstorff handed the following written communication to Mr. Lansing:—

"MY DEAR SECRETARY,

"In reference to our conversation of this day, I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last *Lusitania* Note contain the following passage: 'Liners will not be sunk by submarines without warning, and without ensuring the safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.'"

The passenger steamer *Arabic*, a vessel of 15,801 tons gross register, was outward bound to America

on the 19th August, 1915, when at 9.30 a.m. she was torpedoed without warning, being then 45 miles from land. She carried 176 passengers and 261 crew, 437 in all. The submarine appears to have been hiding behind a steamer, which had been stopped and was then sinking. While hidden thus, the U-boat submerged and headed for the *Arabic*, which she torpedoed before anyone on board had become aware of her presence. The force of the explosion blew one of the boats into the air and disabled the wireless telegraphy apparatus. The ship sank in about 10 minutes. Thanks to the good seamanship and courage of her officers and crew, 390 persons were embarked in the boats before the vessel went down, only 47 lives being lost. As soon as the torpedo had been discharged the periscope of the submarine disappeared.

With regard to the sinking of the *Arabic*, Count Bernstorff sent the following communication to Mr. Lansing:—

“Prompted by the desire to reach a satisfactory agreement with regard to the *Arabic* incident, my Government has given me the following instructions:—

“The orders issued by His Imperial Majesty to the commanders of German submarines, of which I have

notified you on a previous occasion, have been made so stringent that a recurrence of incidents similar to that of the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question. According to the report of Commander Schneider of the submarine which sank the *Arabic*, Commander Schneider is convinced that the *Arabic* intended to ram his submarine. On the other hand, the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the affidavit of the British officers in the *Arabic*, according to which the *Arabic* did not intend to ram the submarine.

"The attack of the submarine was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act, and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly.

"In these circumstances my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity for the American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost in the *Arabic*. I am authorised to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity."

The statement of Commander Schneider that he thought the *Arabic* would ram him cannot be accepted. If it were true, the ship would have been struck on her fore part. This, as Colonel Concannon, of the White Star Line, has pointed out, was not the case. The *Arabic* was struck aft. No effort was made to ram the submarine, for it was not seen, and no attempt was made to escape for the same reason. No guns were mounted on the *Arabic*.

The *Ashmore* was a Belgian Relief ship. She had a crew of 28 hands and was carrying a cargo of maize from Rosario to the Belgian Relief Commission, Rotterdam. In accordance with the regulations agreed upon between the German Government and the Relief Commission, the *Ashmore* was flying flags, had two very large balls hoisted, and the words: "Commission for Relief in Belgium" painted in very large letters on her sides.

On the 12th September at 8.30 a.m. the weather was fine and clear and the sea smooth, the ship then being about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles E. by N. from the Kentish Knock. Most of the crew were at breakfast, while the boatswain and chief engineer were patrolling the after-deck. Both men were in the act of turning round, the boatswain to starboard and the engineer to port, when the former saw a streak in the water at close quarters to amidships. Before the boatswain could give the alarm a terrible explosion took place. A volume of smoke, coal dust and water was driven up through the engine-room skylight and the starboard side of the vessel, which immediately began to heel over to starboard. The two boats were launched and manned, but the second engineer, donkeyman, and two firemen were never seen again, and must

have been killed by the explosion. The *Ashmore* sank at about 9 a.m.

The two boats were picked up about the same time, and the survivors were landed at Chatham. In connection with this sinking, the following message was sent by the American Ambassador in London to the Secretary of State at Washington:—

“The Admiralty has confirmed to the Commission for the Relief of Belgium the sinking of the Relief-ship *Ashmore* yesterday. Four of the crew are missing. The ship had a cargo of maize which the Commission had bought afloat. The captain now in London informs the Commission that the ship was torpedoed, that he saw no submarine, but plainly saw the torpedo coming towards the ship, and that the Commission’s signals had been put up. This is, of course, in violation of the German Government’s agreement with the Commission.”

At 1.10 p.m. on the 30th December, 1915, the s.s. *Persia* was torpedoed without warning when 40 miles from land. The second officer, in charge on the bridge, saw the wake of an approaching torpedo on the port bow, and a moment later there was a violent explosion. This was followed by a second explosion, which, in the opinion of the chief and second officers, was caused by the bursting of a boiler. The vessel at once listed

over to the port side and went down in five minutes. No boats on the starboard side could be launched owing to the list, and several on the port side were swamped, torn away, or capsized, owing to the way which was still on the ship. One port-side boat had been smashed by the explosion, another was pressed under water by the davits, as the ship rolled over to port. Only five boats got away, 213 of the crew and 120 passengers losing their lives, through the explosion or by drowning. Four over-loaded boats were adrift for 30 hours before being picked up by a mine-sweeper. The fifth boat, which had been damaged, capsized several times, and contained only 11 survivors when picked up at 8 p.m. on the 31st by another steamer.

The upshot of the *Persia* affair was that Count Bernstorff submitted an official memorandum to the United States Government, stating that Germany proposed to conduct her submarine campaign according to the rules of international law. The Germans admitted that it was possible that a German submarine sank the *Persia*, and promised that, if this were so, the guilty captain would be punished.

The *Euphrates* was a Belgium Relief ship which left Rotterdam in January, 1917, bound for Sandy Hook in ballast. She was provided with a

German safe conduct at Rotterdam to cover her voyage back to the States. She flew the Belgian flag aft, and exhibited the Relief Commission's signals by day and night. In daylight these consisted of a white square flag, bearing in the centre the words "Belgian Relief Commission" in red letters, a white pennant with the same words in the centre, also in red letters, and a ball painted with red and white vertical stripes above distinguishing flags, all at the foremast. At night the words "Belgian s.s. *Euphrates*, Relief Commission, Rotterdam," brilliantly illuminated in large letters, extended from about amidships, on both sides, to the stern.

At 8 o'clock in the morning of 22nd January, 1917, the weather was clear, with a smooth sea and hardly any wind. A man named Somers was on deck at the time, and swears that the ship was displaying the daylight signals already described. At 8.30 a violent explosion occurred, and the ship began to sink rapidly by the stern. The crew were ordered on deck, but a second explosion threw them all into the sea. One boat was smashed to pieces while afloat, the others went down with the ship.

Somers and some others clung to the smashed boat, but afterwards Somers and the boatswain

swam after some hatches and managed to climb on one. At about 3 p.m. Somers lost sight of the boatswain. At about 9.30 p.m. Somers was picked up by a boat from the British steamer *Trevean*, which had been sunk soon after the *Euphrates*. Some of the men in the boat told Somers that they had seen the Relief ship sunk, but the Germans prevented them from rendering any assistance. Somers was the sole survivor out of a crew of 33.

At the end of January, 1917, the German Government issued its Note on the subject of unrestricted submarine warfare. This document pointed out that the attempt of the Central Powers to bring about peace had failed "on account of the lust of conquest of their adversaries." For this reason "the Imperial Government must now continue the war for existence once more forced upon it by using its weapons. The Imperial Government is, therefore, forced to do away with the restrictions hitherto imposed upon the use of its fighting forces at sea."

Neutral ships plying within the new barred zones were informed that they would do so at their own risk, although precautions would be taken to protect neutral ships which sailed thither prior to the 1st February. In a

Note to the United States, Germany declared that she must abandon the limitations which had hitherto governed the employment of her weapons at sea, and added: "Neutral ships which are lying in harbours in the barred zones can with security still leave the barred zones if they depart before 5th February, and take the shortest route to a free zone."

In the middle of February, 1917, Berlin issued an official telegram explaining that the period of grace for neutral steamers whom news of the blockade could not reach in time elapsed on the night of the 12th February as regards the zone in the Atlantic and English Channel. For the North Sea the period of grace expired on the night of the 6th February, and for the Mediterranean on the night of the 10th. This telegram concluded: "It is expressly stated that all the news spread from the enemy side regarding torpedoing without previous warning of neutral ships before the dates mentioned for the various blockaded zones is incorrect. The periods of grace mentioned were also in force for enemy passenger vessels, because it was possible that on them were neutral passengers who were perhaps without knowledge of the sea blockade."

The Danish vessel *Lars Kruse* was a Belgian Relief steamer, which in February, 1917, was carrying a cargo of grain from Buenos Ayres to Rotterdam for the Belgian Relief Commission. She bore the neutral Commission's flags and markings, as described in the case of the *Euphrates*; and it must also be remembered that the German authorities in the United States had stated specifically that they did not mean to interfere with Relief ships. Nevertheless, at 10 p.m. on the 3rd February, when 16 miles off Ushant, the *Lars Kruse* was torpedoed without warning, her crew of 18 being all drowned, except the chief engineer.

On the 27th March, 1917, the British steamer *Thracia* was 10 miles N.N.E. of Belle Isle, travelling at a speed of 7 knots, the time being 8.15 p.m. She was suddenly torpedoed without warning by a German submarine, being struck forward of the stokehold. The explosion burst her boilers, killing an engineer, a greaser, and two firemen. Immediately after the explosion the steamer went down by the head to starboard before any attempt could be made to lower the boats. Her crew of 38 all perished, except two men, one of whom, Douglas V. Duff, acting fourth officer, has described his experiences.

Duff went down with the ship, and on coming to the surface, swam to an upturned boat—the starboard life-boat, which had had her stern blown off. Seven other men clambered on to her, two of whom had been severely wounded. Both these men were soon washed off the boat. Three of the remaining six slipped back into the sea, in order to swim to a steamer which was visible about a mile away; but a few minutes afterwards the steamer went away. The three men did not return. There were now two other men on the boat besides Duff, and although he did not actually see them go, there is no doubt that they were both washed away by the sea.

At about 11 p.m. a black object came into view, and Duff was hailed in English by the German commander, who asked what ship he had sunk, where she was from, and what was her destination. Duff answered all the questions. The commander then said, "I am going to shoot you." Duff told him to shoot away; but the commander replied that he would not waste powder on a pig of an Englishman, and added, "Drown, you swine! Drown!" The submarine then disappeared. At 10.30 next morning Duff was picked up by a French fishing-boat, and afterwards transferred to a French torpedo-boat. The only other

survivor was picked up by a Norwegian steamer, the *Nordborg*, and landed at Barry.

In the evening of the 17th April the hospital ship *Lanfranc* and s.s. *Donegal* were transporting wounded across the Channel. The *Lanfranc* carried 234 wounded British officers and men, 167 wounded German prisoners, a medical personnel of 52, and a crew of 123. The s.s. *Donegal* carried a number of slightly wounded, all of whom were British. Between 7 and 8 p.m. both ships were torpedoed without warning.

The Germans on board the *Lanfranc* at once made a rush for the boats. They managed to launch one, but it was overloaded and swamped. The British soldiers stood to attention and behaved with great coolness, as also did the medical staff and crew. As a result of the outrage two wounded British officers and 11 other ranks were drowned, as well as one of the R.A.M.C. and five of the crew. Of the Germans, two wounded officers and 13 other ranks were drowned. The casualties in the *Donegal* amounted to 41.

This outrageous German crime was the sequel to a series of accusations by the Berlin Government to the effect that Great Britain was misusing her hospital ships. The evidence produced by the Germans in support of their assertions proved

to be of a flimsy and wholly untrustworthy character, as the following examples taken from the British Government White Paper, Miscellaneous, No. 16 (1917), will show.

A man named Alexander Buttler, of Hamburg, swore that he had sailed in the s.s. *Escout* from Brooklyn to La Rochelle, where he arrived about the middle of July, 1915. There he saw a British hospital ship being loaded with munitions from the *Escout*, which carried no cargo but munitions of war. The reply of the British Government was as follows:—"No British hospital ship was at La Rochelle during July, 1915. All British hospital ships have their names painted distinctly on them in the usual place, and all fly the Red Cross flag and the British defaced Blue Ensign worn by transports. The credibility of the witness may be judged from the fact that the log of the steamship *Escout*, on which he claims to have been serving, shows that that vessel called neither at La Rochelle nor at La Pallice in June, July or August, 1915, and that she was fitted at the time for the transport of horses. He cannot have been in a position to know that the ship on which he served, if his story is not entirely fabricated, carried no cargo but munitions of war."

Another witness is thus described by the

German Government:—" merchant, a Dutch subject, living at Rotterdam," declared that he was at Cardiff on business from the beginning of December to the end of January, 1916. About the middle of December the hospital ship *Formosa* arrived, was docked and took in coal and a number of cases. On the 29th December about 300 infantrymen in marching order were taken on board, besides about 50 naval officers who went on board on the 1st January, the date of departure. He adds: "I can confidently assert that the soldiers and the 50 naval officers sailed with her."

To this the British Government replied:—"The witness's statement that the *Formosa* arrived at Cardiff about the middle of December is incorrect. She was at Belfast from the 16th November to the 30th December, 1915, and did not arrive at Cardiff till the 2nd January, 1916. His statement that she left Cardiff in the night of the 1st and 2nd January is therefore also incorrect. It is, moreover, contradicted by the witness cited by the German Government in Annex 14, who states that the *Formosa* was still at Cardiff on the 7th January. She actually left Cardiff for the Mediterranean on the 13th January with no passengers on board."

It was on the strength of such trumped-up evidence as this that Germany decided to commit the crowning inhumanity of sinking hospital ships. In all probability, she was judging others by her own standards, and, knowing that in Britain's position she would not have hesitated to misuse hospital ships, she came to the conclusion that the British Government was doing so. Her unfounded charges were denied. In a despatch dated 5th October, 1917, Mr. Balfour stated:—"His Majesty's Government have already issued the most categorical denial of the assertions of the German Government that British hospital ships have ever been used except in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention."

However, Germany was not to be deterred from her new path of atrocious crime, and so we find 75 men murdered through the sinking of the *Donegal* and the hospital ship *Lanfranc*, 15 of the victims being Germans.

The s.s. *Addah* left America, homeward bound, on the 1st June, 1917. All went well until the 15th June, when a loud explosion was heard on the port side, and the ship began to settle down very quickly. The wireless was put out of action, and the master gave the order to abandon ship,

which was carried out with the two boats. Ten minutes later the chief officer saw the periscope of a submarine, and then her hull, about a point on the starboard bow. From this position the submarine fired several shots, hitting the vessel seven times. She then came alongside the chief officer's boat, which was entered by five Germans. They boarded the steamer and returned with some stores and the ensign. After they had been rowed back to the submarine, the Germans told the chief officer's boat to shove off.

Meanwhile the master's boat, which had been badly smashed by a shell, was about 350 yards away. The submarine now opened fire with common shrapnel, taking the stern of the master's boat right off and killing eight men. Having sunk the boat in this way, the submarine shelled her crew as they were swimming about in the water, still with shrapnel. Apparently under the impression that he had wiped out the unfortunate men, the submarine commander next opened fire on the chief officer's boat. He fired eight shrapnel shells, and succeeded in holing the boat, breaking the oars, and slightly wounding several men. Fortunately, no one was killed this time. The submarine then proceeded in a north-westerly direction on the surface. The master

and the survivors from his boat were taken on board the chief officer's boat, which was eventually picked up by a French patrol steamer on the 16th June.

On the morning of the 15th July, 1917, at about 3 o'clock the steamer *Mariston* was struck by a torpedo. Just afterwards there was a second explosion, which destroyed all the midship cabins, and the vessel began to sink rapidly. When she had gone down, a large black submarine came to the surface; an officer opened a trap-door in her conning-tower and watched the survivors struggling in the water. The unfortunate men called to him for help, but he ignored their appeals, although there were no other ships in sight at the time and he could have rescued them without any danger to himself.

There were about 18 men struggling in the water, and while the U-boat commander watched, he saw them dragged down one after another. A shoal of sharks had attacked them, and every man except the cook suffered this terrible death. Meanwhile the German had submerged, leaving them to their fate.

The cook, who escaped, remained in the water for 15 hours, being picked up by a British merchantman at about 6.30 p.m. that day.

The master of the Swedish steamer *Vanland* reports that he was attacked by a German submarine at 6.45 p.m. on the 23rd July, 1917. He was 4 miles from the shore at that time, and at once made for land on a zig-zag course. The U-boat chased him, firing continually. Seven shells hit the hull of his vessel, and 20 hit the deck cargo aft, while the port life-boat was carried away and the davits of the starboard life-boat were broken.

Directly the steamer took the ground her master and crew embarked in the starboard life-boat; but when 100 yards from their ship, the Germans opened fire on them with a machine-gun and wounded the second mate. The submarine then torpedoed the *Vanland* and submerged. Altogether 46 shells were fired by the Germans, in addition to the machine-gun fire directed against the life-boat.

At about 7.50 p.m. on Thursday, 31st July, 1917, the steamer *Belgian Prince* was travelling at 10 knots an hour, when the wake of a torpedo was seen upon the port beam. Her helm was at once put hard over, but she was struck between the after part of the engine-room and No. 5 hold. Her main engines and also her dynamo were disabled, so that the wireless became useless and

no S.O.S. signal could be sent out. The ship took a very heavy list to port, and the crew proceeded to get into their life-boats. Two of these and one small boat were launched, and all hands were safely embarked in them.

When the boats were clear of the ship a German submarine came to the surface, and, approaching the boats, ordered them alongside. All the officers and crew were transferred to the submarine, the master being taken below. The Germans were very abusive, and, after searching their prisoners, ordered them to take off their life-belts. These were placed on the deck of the submarine, and one of the German officers proceeded to throw most of them into the sea.

Five German sailors now entered the small boat and rowed her back to the *Belgian Prince*. Other Germans entered the two life-boats, threw the oars, balers, and gratings overboard; took out the provisions and compasses, and then smashed the boats with an axe.

The Germans who had boarded the *Belgian Prince* now signalled to their comrades with a flash lamp; the submarine cast off the broken life-boats and steered away to the eastward. It was about 9 p.m., and the crew of the *Belgian Prince* were still standing on the deck of the

submarine, most of them without their life-belts. The submarine stopped. Slowly she began to sink. Then, quite suddenly, she submerged.

W. Snell, second cook of the *Belgian Prince*, was standing with his shipmates, but he was more fortunate than most of them, because he had managed to pick up his life-belt and put it on under his rain-coat without being observed by the Germans. When he felt the water rising over his feet as the submarine went down, he jumped into the sea; and he says that his companions did the same. Snell remained in the water all night, and was picked up at about 7.30 a.m. next day in a very exhausted condition.

Thomas Bowman, chief engineer, was also in the water all night. He struck out in the direction of the *Belgian Prince* and at daylight next morning he sighted her still afloat. At about 5.30 a.m. he saw her explode and go down. An hour later he was picked up by a British patrol-boat.

George Siless, A.B., was the only other survivor out of a crew of 42.

Such are the circumstances that accompanied the sinking of the *Belgian Prince*, and one looks in vain for any fact that can excuse the conduct of the Germans. They appear to have carried

out their work with the sole object of taking as many lives as possible. To understand the out-look of such men is impossible. What was at the back of their minds when they dismantled and destroyed the life-boats? What satisfaction could they derive from the fact that their prisoners had no life-belts? These belts, it will be noticed, were thrown overboard by a German *officer*. What is to be said of the submarine commander who allowed such conduct? Here was a responsible officer who ordered his craft to submerge, when he knew perfectly well that most of the 38 men outside on deck were without any means of saving their lives. Imagination boggles at the cold-blooded cruelty of the deed.

THE PIRATE AND NEUTRALS

A Selection of Cases

Portuguese s.s. <i>Douro</i>	3rd April, 1915.
Swedish s.s. <i>Folke</i>	14th April, 1915.
Dutch s.s. <i>Katwijk</i>	15th April, 1915.
American Oiler <i>Gullflight</i>	2nd May, 1915.
American s.s. <i>Nebraskan</i>	25th May, 1915.
Danish schooner <i>Betty</i>	25th May, 1915.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Svein Jarl</i>	9th June, 1915.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Rym</i>	14th July, 1915.
Norwegian schooner <i>Magda</i>	18th August, 1915.
Dutch s.s. <i>Tubantia</i>	16th March, 1916.
Norwegian s.v. <i>Tamara</i>	3rd Feb., 1917.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Solbakken</i>	4th Feb., 1917.
Peruvian barque <i>Lorton</i>	5th Feb., 1917.
Swedish s.s. <i>Varing</i>	7th Feb., 1917.
Greek s.s. <i>Aghios Spyridon</i>	12th Feb., 1917.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Falls of Afton</i>	20th Feb., 1917.
Norwegian s.v. <i>Mabella</i>	1st March, 1917.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Gurre</i>	1st March, 1917.
Danish s.s. <i>Rosborg</i>	3rd March, 1917.
Norwegian s.v. <i>Silas</i>	8th March, 1917.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Einar Jarl</i>	12th March, 1917.
Norwegian s.v. <i>Collingwood</i>	12th March, 1917.
Danish s.s. <i>Dana</i>	9th June, 1917.
Norwegian s.s. <i>Helma</i>	12th June, 1917.

CHAPTER IV

THE PIRATE AND NEUTRALS

*"The German soul is God's soul: it shall and will rule over mankind."**—PASTOR W. LEHMANN.

THE German Naval Prize Regulations naturally contain instructions for the guidance of German naval officers whose duty brings them into contact with neutral shipping. Thus, Article 81 directs that—"In stopping and searching a vessel under a neutral flag the commander must avoid, as far as possible, diverting her from her route. He will in general endeavour to cause the vessel as little inconvenience as possible. Especially in no circumstances may he require the master to come on board the warship or to send a boat, members of the crew, the ship's papers, &c."

Here is Article 82:—"If the commander wishes to stop a ship he must summon her to stop by signal and by sounding the siren. At the latest, ensign and pendant are to be shown simultaneously with this signal; by night the ensign is

* *Hurrah and Hallelujah*, by T. P. Bang, 1916 (p. 70).

to be illuminated. During the chase it is not necessary to show the war flag, any mercantile flag may be flown."

Article 113 states that—"A commander is only justified in destroying a neutral ship . . . for carrying contraband . . . for breach of blockade, or for unneutral service" if bringing her into port "might expose the warship to danger or imperil the success of the operations in which she is engaged at the time."

Germany's outrageous conduct with regard to neutral shipping dates back to 1915. Indeed, a book could be filled entirely with instances similar to the small selection here collected. German regulations, international law, and the dictates of common humanity have been freely disregarded by the German submarine service almost from the beginning of the war. There can be no doubt that the Imperial German Government speaks with one voice to the world and with another voice to its submariners, whose deeds show what kind of orders they receive from Berlin.

The Portuguese steamship *Douro* was bound for Oporto on the 3rd April, 1915, when at 3 p.m. she was torpedoed without warning. She began to sink rapidly, and at 4.30 p.m. the master and crew left the ship in their life-boat. Half-an-hour

later the *Douro* went down. At 9 a.m. next day the life-boat reached Helwick Lightship, and at 4 p.m. that day the master and crew were taken off by the steamer *Tudwall* and brought to Swansea.

On the 14th April, 1915, the Swedish steamer *Folke* was 52 miles from Peterhead at 10 p.m., *en route* to Farne Island from Stavanger. Suddenly there was a big explosion under the stern of the ship; the propeller was blown off; and wooden pit-props in the cargo were sent flying through the air in all directions. The crew took to the boats, and after leaving the ship, the master, Captain Ohlssen, heard the noise of a submarine's motor twice, first on one side of his boat, then on the other. He recognised the sound, having on several previous occasions seen submarines under way. The *Folke* remained afloat for about 2½ hours. There were no casualties.

On the 15th April, 1915, the Dutch steamer *Katwijk*, while on voyage from Baltimore to Rotterdam, was torpedoed by a German submarine. She carried a cargo of grain for the Dutch Government, and was lying at anchor 7 miles west of the North Hinder at the time of the outrage. A fire broke out soon after the explosion of the torpedo, and the vessel sank in 20 minutes. There were no casualties.

On the 19th April, our Minister at the Hague sent the following message to the British Foreign Office: "Minister for Foreign Affairs told French Minister to-day that German Foreign Office admitted to Netherlands Minister at Berlin that it was a German submarine which sank the *Katwijk*, and added that it was an unfortunate accident." On the 20th April the German Government informed the Netherlands Minister that they would make enquiries, and, if proved that it was a German submarine, they would express their regret and indemnify the Netherlands Government for their loss. On the very same day, 20th April, the following was included in the German official wireless news: "The special Rotterdam correspondent of the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* reports that the description of the boat which torpedoed the *Katwijk*, and the behaviour of the crew, lead one to believe that the vessel was of English nationality." On the 10th May our Minister at the Hague communicated this message to the British Foreign Office: "Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that he has just heard from Berlin that German Government acknowledge that *Katwijk* was torpedoed by a German submarine. German Government fully apologise

for the mistake and promise an ample indemnity."

It seems probable that the German Government had a shrewd suspicion that it was one of their own submarines which sank the *Katwijk*, even as early as the 19th April. However, this did not prevent them from sending out broadcast in their official wireless news on the 20th a strong suggestion that a British submarine was responsible—a little illustration of German official methods.

The American oil-tank steamer *Gulflight* was torpedoed without warning off the Scilly Islands at 12.50 p.m. on the 2nd May, 1915. One seaman and the wireless operator were drowned, while the master died soon afterwards from shock. The remaining 35 members of the crew were saved. The submarine remained on the surface for three minutes after discharging the first torpedo; then submerged, and 25 minutes later struck the vessel with a second torpedo.

On the 25th May, 1915, the American steamer *Nebraskan* was 50 miles W.S.W. from the Fastnet Rock. The sea was smooth and the weather calm, but at about 9 p.m. she was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine. The crew took to their boats and, after standing by the ship for an hour, returned on board, and at 10.30

started for Liverpool. At about 1.25 a.m. they met with two vessels sent by the British Admiralty in answer to a wireless call, and Liverpool was reached in safety.

The *Betty* was a Danish schooner, carrying a cargo of coal and coke to Copenhagen. At noon on the 25th May, 1915, in fine weather, when 132 miles from the Farne Islands, a torpedo was seen rapidly approaching the ship. She was struck between No. 3 hold and the engine-room on the port side, after which no further sign of the submarine was seen. The *Betty* listed heavily to port; both life-boats were swung out and manned. While the boats were standing by, a Swedish vessel, the *Waldemar*, of Stockholm, appeared on the scene and picked up the crew.

The *Svein Jarl* was a Norwegian steamship, which on the 9th June, 1915, was on a voyage from Warkworth to a port in East Finmark. Suddenly a submarine bearing no flag or sign of nationality was seen approaching at full speed. The submarine turned sharply, and a few moments later the steamer was struck by a torpedo. The force of the explosion threw the crew into the sea, their ship going down within 30 seconds. A Dutch fishing-boat picked up the master and three men

and landed them five days later at Scheveningen; but 12 of the crew were lost.

The Norwegian steamer *Rym* was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine at 7.26 p.m. on the 14th July, 1915, the weather being fine and clear, with a choppy sea. The master had just gone below when an explosion occurred which knocked him senseless for several moments. The second engineer was killed in the engine-room, and the ship sank in three minutes. The mate saw the periscope of a submarine immediately after the explosion.

On the 18th August, 1915, the Norwegian schooner *Magda* was torpedoed by a German submarine without warning. It was 11.35 p.m., the weather being fine. The ship had the Norwegian flag painted on her sides, which were brilliantly illuminated. A torpedo was suddenly seen coming towards the ship, which was struck just afterwards on the starboard side. After the explosion the *Magda* began to go down by the head, and the crew took to their boats. They were lucky enough to be picked up 20 minutes afterwards without casualty.

The Dutch steamer *Tubantia* was 4 miles west of the North Hinder on the evening of the 16th March, 1916. The ship was brilliantly lighted;

two arc lamps projected beyond her sides, illuminating her name, which was painted on her side in large letters. Two more lamps threw their light over the name on the stern of the vessel; while between her funnels an illuminated name-board was suspended. There could be no possible doubt as to the identity and nationality of the *Tubantia*; but, all the same, she was torpedoed that night by a German submarine.

The Germans attempted to evade responsibility for the deed. On the 17th March Berlin sent this message to the German Embassy at Washington: "English mines, on account of their construction, frequently get loose and float, and, that being so, *Tubantia* most certainly struck and destroyed by English mine." Unfortunately for Berlin, pieces of metal were found in two of the steamer's boats, and these, the German Government were bound to admit, belonged to a German torpedo. A new official story was accordingly concocted by Berlin. In June the *North German Gazette* published the result of the German official investigation into the sinking of the *Tubantia*. The gist of the finding was that the *Tubantia* had been sunk by a floating German torpedo, which had been fired at and missed a British destroyer 10 days before.

To make this yarn more plausible, it was stated

that the British destroyer had three funnels, that she was in company with two other destroyers, and that there was a British submarine in the neighbourhood. To explain away the illegal use of torpedoes which float for 10 days after being discharged, it was pointed out that this might happen through some flaw in construction. Out of this cock-and-bull story one fact at least emerged clearly enough, namely, that the Dutch steamer had been destroyed by a German torpedo.

A Court of Enquiry was held in Holland, at which the evidence was carefully sifted. At this court both the fourth mate and the man in the crow's nest swore to having seen the track of a torpedo coming towards the ship before she was struck. The court's verdict was: "The evidence given by the said witnesses and experts, considered in all its bearings, proves that the explosion was caused by a torpedo, which at some distance, under an angle of six points, was launched by a torpedo-boat or a submarine without any previous warning. This torpedo appears to have been a bronze Schwarzkopf torpedo, and was aimed at the *Tubantia*, there being no other ship near."

The fact that the wake of a torpedo approaching the ship was seen by two men in the steamer

proves that the German explanation about a floating torpedo was false. A floating torpedo would, of course, make no track in the water. The whole case is a further exposure of German methods.

On the 3rd February the Norwegian sailing vessel *Tamara* fell in with a German submarine at 9.30 a.m. Although flying the Norwegian colours and bearing the name of the ship and her country painted on her side, this vessel was sunk by the U-boat. Before sinking her, the Germans searched the ship and carried away everything portable, including the clothes of the crew. The boats were picked up at 10 p.m. by a patrol vessel.

The Norwegian steamer *Solbakken* was sunk by a German submarine off Finisterre on the 4th February, 1917. One man was drowned and one died of the cold. Thirteen survivors were landed at Gijon.

A German submarine sighted the Peruvian barque *Lorton* on the 5th February, 1917, and at once opened fire at 3,000 yards. The Peruvian colours were hoisted, the ship was hove to, and the master proceeded in his boat to the submarine. He was questioned by a young officer who spoke very good English, and who seemed to know all about the *Lorton*. This officer told the master to return to his ship and bring back a

German who was on board. Five of the submarine's crew went back with him, and they found the German mate of the *Lorton* with his things all packed ready to be taken off. The Germans took the master's watch, refused to return his papers, and sank his ship. The master is of opinion that his German mate had given certain information about the movement of the ship. The man sent a letter off from Colon.

On the 7th February the Swedish steamship *Varing*, bound from Savannah to Helsingborg, met with a German submarine. Although the steamer was hove to and hoisted the Swedish flag, the submarine continued firing for 20 minutes, her master counting 20 shells in that period. Her crew were allowed no time to save their personal belongings or to furnish the life-boats with provisions. The master made a strong protest against the methods of the submarine commander when he reached Helsingborg.

In fine weather and a calm sea the Greek steamship *Aghios Spyridon* was sunk without warning by a submerged U-boat at 1.5 a.m. on the 12th February, 1917. The vessel sank in a few seconds after being torpedoed, and the crew had but little chance of escape. Out of 21 men, 16 were lost, one Chilian and one Spaniard being amongst the

killed. The survivors, who clung to floating wreckage, were eventually picked up by a patrol-boat and landed at Penzance.

The Norwegian vessel *Falls of Afton* was at sea on the 20th February, 1917, with the Norwegian colours painted on her side. At nine o'clock in the morning, in hazy weather, a German submarine rose to the surface right ahead of the ship, waited till the vessel approached, then steered to starboard and lay about 4 cables distant. No other vessel was in sight. The Norwegian colours were hoisted, but the submarine fired three shots, one of which went through a sail. The ship was hove to and was abandoned by her crew, the Germans sinking her with bombs. No lives were lost, but a member of the crew, who had signed on as a Russian Finn, declared himself a German and was taken away in the submarine.

The Norwegian sailing vessel *Mabella* was sunk by a U-boat on the 1st March, 1917, although the Norwegian colours and ship's name were hoisted directly the submarine was sighted. The vessel was sunk by gun-fire and two bombs. The Germans took the master's chronometer, sextant, new oilskin coat, and three bags of stores.

On the same date the Norwegian steamer *Gurre* was torpedoed without warning, and sank

in 30 seconds. Only three men were saved, and among the drowned were two British ladies from Christiania.

The Danish steamer *Rosborg* was bound for Esbjerg from Baltimore with a cargo of 2,600 tons of maize for Eriksen and Christiensen. She was a neutral ship, flying neutral colours, but on the 3rd March, 1917, she was sunk by a German submarine.

The Norwegian sailing vessel *Silas* was sunk by a German submarine at 11.30 a.m. on the 8th March. The crew were given half-an-hour to get the boats clear, and there were no casualties.

At noon on the 12th March the Norwegian steamer *Einar Jarl* came under fire from a German submarine. A shell went through her coal-bunker and exploded, and while the boats were lowered the fire was continued. While the master was getting into the starboard boat a shell exploded, striking him in the shoulder, severely wounding two men, and putting 17 holes through his boat. About 20 shells were fired altogether, five of which hit the ship or boats. The crew were eventually picked up by a drifter.

The Norwegian sailing vessel *Collingwood* was sunk on the same day, and in the opinion of her skipper the submarine commander and part of

his crew were drunk. It is probable that they obtained champagne and cognac from the French ship *Jules Gommès*, which they had sunk about two hours before. At any rate, they refused to examine the *Collingwood's* papers, although the skipper protested strongly, explaining that his ship was bound for Christiania. The vessel was sunk by bombs, and the crew were in their boats from 2.30 p.m. on the 12th March until 3 p.m. on the 15th March, when they were picked up and brought into Penzance.

On the 9th June, 1917, the Danish steamer *Dana* was sunk by a U-boat. She was abandoned at 3.30 p.m., four men being lost.

The master of the Norwegian steamer *Helma*, of Bergen, took his vessel to sea on the 12th June, 1917, and proceeded without misadventure until the 24th June, when a submarine opened fire on him. Boats were lowered, and the master rowed alongside the submarine. The Germans boarded this boat, threw her sails and gear overboard, and then proceeded to the *Helma*, returning with the ship's provisions and papers. The *Helma* was sunk by bombs, and the Norwegians were turned adrift with hardly any provisions and no sails or gear. They remained at sea for three days before reaching safety.

CHAPTER V

WHAT IS THE VERDICT?

*"The German Government attaches no less importance to the sacred principles of humanity than the Government of the United States."**

CAN anything be said in extenuation of the German submariner?

Germany declares that she is fighting for her existence, and that unrestricted U-boat warfare is a necessity. Adopting for a moment the enemy's point of view, we are still entitled to ask two questions, which can be answered by anyone who knows what has taken place.

In the first place, even if the necessity of unrestricted submarine warfare should be admitted, must it be attended by acts of savagery? Secondly, when a nation fights for its existence, is there any standard by which it can be judged, or does it stand outside all law, whether human or divine?

The exploits described in this book provide Germany's answer to both these questions.

* *German Note to America, 4th May, 1916.*

That is why she stands condemned before the eyes of the world.

The German submarine commanders have proved by their deeds that they commit excesses from sheer love of cruelty, and not from any national necessity. Over and over again they have shelled defenceless seamen while abandoning ship, disregarded drowning men when rescue would have been easy, sunk ships at sight when a few minutes' grace would have meant the saving of many lives. The security of Germany demanded none of these deeds. It is possible to carry out submarine warfare without barbarity; but the German submarine service appears deliberately to have chosen the methods of the barbarian.

Another damning point in the evidence here collected is that it stamps the whole German submarine service. The excesses described are not mere exceptions to the general rule of German submarine methods. They could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they cover every ocean in which the German U-boats have appeared; and they are not recent developments of sea-frightfulness, for they date back almost to the beginning of the war.

We have attempted to judge Germany by her own standards as far as possible, but the difficulty

is to fix any standard upon which she orders her actions. The conclusion is irresistible. The German submarine commander stands convicted upon evidence unassailable as a thief, a murderer, and a barbarian. If it could be argued that by committing these acts he was performing his work more efficiently, criticism would be to some extent disarmed; but no single ship went to the bottom more completely on account of the outrages of the U-boat commander who was responsible for her sinking. The acts of these men were mere asides, something in the nature of recreation to relieve the monotony of the submariner's life. The impartial mind cannot escape from this conclusion.

Meanwhile, behind the sinister figure of the U-boat commander rises up the grim outline of the faithless Imperial German Government. This is the Government that declared she would not molest Belgian Relief ships, and then sent the *Harpalyce*, *Ashmore*, and *Euphrates* to the bottom without warning. This is the Government which has often declared that she respected the rights of neutrals, but has behaved to neutral shipping as a pirate denying all rights to others.

Finally, what of the possibilities opened up by the system under which the German *Chargé*

d’Affaires at Buenos Ayres communicated with the Foreign Office in Berlin, sending cypher telegrams which passed as Swedish official messages? “I beg that the small steamers *Oran* and *Guazo*, now nearing Bordeaux, may be spared, or else sunk without a trace being left,” he telegraphed on the 19th May, 1917. Precise information as to the position, cargo, and destination of a vessel often reaches the U-boat commander, and more than one very suggestive instance of this appears in these pages. On such an occasion, after the submarine has appeared, a certain member of the steamer’s crew announces that he is a German, and the U-boat commander takes the spy away with him. These sailor-spies sign on under the cloak of some neutral nationality.

Surely the members of the German Submarine Service stand convicted by their own deeds as unscrupulous pirates, with whom even savages might well hesitate to claim any fellowship. The verdict of civilised humanity has been pronounced against these men who have destroyed the Brotherhood of the Sea and horrified Civilisation.

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12

VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE ARMY, NAVY AND COMMUNITY

By

THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D.

Bishop of Massachusetts

THE AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, INC.

105 WEST FORTIETH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

June 21, 1918

From: The Surgeon General, U. S. Army.

To: Rt. Rev. Wm. Lawrence, Boston, Mass.

Subject: Receipt of manuscript.

1. I thank you for the copy of your manuscript of the address you delivered before the Harvard Medical School. I think the medical-social aspects of the prevention of venereal diseases has never been stated more clearly, and such a statement from you has the added influence of placing the clergy squarely behind the whole broad program of recreation, education, law enforcement, and medical measures.

2. I trust your address will be printed and widely circulated.

W. C. GORGAS,
Surgeon General

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VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE ARMY, NAVY AND COMMUNITY¹

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D. D.

WE are at war. Every man, woman and child in the country is alert, caring for his health, saving food, money and time, getting ready for battle. Whatever hinders action or weakens strength is cut out. Society is coming to a war basis. Physical health and rugged character are of prime importance. Bad teeth, bad feet, poor blood, measles and other contagious diseases are our enemies. So are weak wills, low ideals and moral cowardice. We are moving against these with power. The discipline of camp and the self-denials of home are making us a stronger and better people.

The tragedy of the situation is this—not that we have foes across the water, but in our midst; foes in our own household whom we do not and will not see and bring out into the open. More subtle and dangerous to our success in this war than German propaganda, pacifist or anarchist, are two diseases which are insidiously working into the vitals of our young men and women, and which by a traditional conspiracy of silence the people refuse to recognize.

You have no reason to believe me in medical matters. But you cannot escape the statements of medical experts of world-wide reputation. Listen while I quote from them.

Dr. Rosenau, of the Harvard Medical School, writes, "As a danger to public health, as a peril to the family and as a menace to vitality, health and physical progress of the race, the venereal diseases are justly regarded as the greatest of modern plagues."

Dr. Osler says that syphilis is one of the four greatest killing diseases.

Dr. Morrow says, "No disease has such a murderous influence upon the offspring as syphilis. No disease has such a destructive influence upon the health and procreative function of women as gonorrhea. Inherited syphilis is a powerful factor in the degeneration of the race."

¹ Lecture by Bishop Lawrence at the Harvard Medical School, Boston, February 24, 1918.

Dr. Biggs states that in 1912 of the population of New York City at least eight hundred thousand people, one-fifth of the population, have or have had some venereal disease, and that in a large per cent the disease is still active.

At a medical meeting in Vienna in November, 1916, figures were given to show that of the seven million in the Austrian army, seven to eight hundred thousand were suffering from venereal diseases.

Statements issued under the auspices of the United States Army report of syphilis: "There is as much syphilis as consumption in the average community, but syphilis is more infectious; it is a blood disease and may be transmitted to children before birth, making them physically and mentally defective; it is the cause of nearly half the abortions and miscarriages. It is the cause (experts say the chief cause) of locomotor ataxia, softening of the brain, paralysis, and a great percentage of insanity; it is the cause of a large proportion of diseases of the heart, blood-vessels and other vital organs."

"Gonorrhea is the most prevalent of all diseases except measles; one of the most dangerous and difficult to cure. It blinds thousands of men and women in this country every year and is the cause of eighty per cent of blindness in new-born babies: is the cause of most surgical operations on women and of much of the sterility of women."

I, who am only a layman, could make you shudder at the tragedies from the disease: men who have thought themselves cured years back compelled for life to care for and look upon their imbecile or hideously deformed child, which silently curses them for the ignorance or sins of their youth. We could conjure up an host of children, men and women imbeciles, deformed, insane, who for no fault of their own have had this curse laid upon them by the sins of others and by the neglect of society to take action.

What interests us today is, however, the question of the War. How can we let these diseases wage their warfare against the strength of soldiers, sailors and citizens, and not count ourselves slackers or traitors? How can we as patriots allow the whole people to be in danger of infection, weakening the whole body politic in physical strength, in morals and character? What waste of time to save food and money, to cheer our sons off while these

diseases lie in wait for them. Overwhelmed as our people are with new problems and multiplying campaigns, this problem must be met if we are to win the war: it is a military problem.

This is the time to meet it, for our compulsory service system gives the first real opportunity for exact statistics. This is the time, for even though the Army and Navy may be clean, the whole people, the munition workers, the ship builders, the mill people, every one is in the service: their whole vitality is needed. This is the time, for when peace comes the competition of nations for trade, commerce and leadership will be on, and success will come only to nations whose people are strong in physique, clear in brain and sound in character.

Clear that the day for action has come, we now take up the study of the subject and the program.

First, a word of history, for it is interesting. Until 1493 Europe had never been touched by syphilis; in 1494 and 1495, parts of Europe, Spain, Italy and France were scourged with syphilis. This is strong evidence that the disease was brought back from the West Indies by the crews of Columbus and of succeeding ships. The disease, finding virgin soil in Europe, was rampant for a while; and then in the voyages of commerce and adventure was carried throughout the world. The Cross, the sword, and this curse went together.

How are these diseases passed on through the people? Chiefly through sexual intercourse; one person infected ever so slightly infects the other, and no one can tell how lightly or severely.

Syphilis also passes from one to another by contact with those infected, an abrasion of the lips, for instance. Think of this medical report: at a game of boys and girls with kissing as a forfeit, six girls went home infected with syphilis from the lips of one boy. Hence the danger of common drinking and eating utensils. More infectious even is gonorrhea, for that quickly affects the eyes; a common towel, touching the eye with an unclean finger is enough.

(Through inheritance. The infection of either parent is enough to carry the curse of syphilis down to the innocent child, even to the second and third generations.)

Other methods of propagation by the score you may find in the

books and physicians' experiences, but sexual intercourse is the one great outstanding method of transmission.

Some one says that the publication of these things may create a panic; everyone will imagine that he has the disease; many will be made unhappy by the discovery that they do have it. Have we not troubles enough now?

If a panic must be raised, let it come: better panic than defeat or death. In the long run, however, panics are due to suppression of facts, to secrecy. Thus the imagination is aroused and people dread the unknown. Publicity is the best preventive of panics.

War has always brought a fresh outcropping of venereal diseases; hence they have been thought of as especially army and navy diseases. There is reason for this, too. Masses of men trained to fight and kill have the brute forces brought to the front; away from home and good women, they are free from the conventionalities and oversight of society and home. Under the monotony of training and the heavy stress of battle, the nervous reactions are almost overwhelming. In masses of men there are a certain number of low-minded and low-living brutes, and they make themselves felt in camp.

The tradition too that a certain number of low women always have followed the camp, and always will, is strong; and the assumption on the part of officers that a certain percentage of men have got to have women has some foundation in experience.

Thousands on thousands of patriotic fathers and mothers have therefore watched their boys go into camp, and have followed them in imagination with anxious, very anxious forebodings. Even wives let their husbands go, trusting them, but with forebodings of the possible.

My purpose in this lecture is to state the facts to these fathers and mothers, and to point out to them and to all citizens so far as I can the path of action along which the facts lead us. My message is one of great hope.

For brevity I shall use the word "disease" for the group of venereal diseases; and the word "army" for all the military and naval forces of the country.

The Army comes from the people, and in physique and character is the embodiment of the people. The Army after war

returns to the people. There is therefore such close interplay of Army and society that they cannot be studied separately. Hence my study will at each point take up the Army and then society.

How prevalent is the disease in the Army? First a few facts of a few years ago by way of comparison.

In the various leading armies there were per thousand soldiers afflicted with the disease²:—

1906	Germany.....	19.8
1906	France.....	28.6
1906	Russia.....	62.7
1907	Japan.....	37.6
1907	Great Britain.....	68.4
1907	United States.....	167.8
1909	United States.....	196.99

No wonder these figures brought alarm. Since then, and especially since the opening of the European War, the Medical Departments of the Army and the Navy have attacked the problem with determination, skill and high purpose, so that today the Secretaries of the Army and Navy, the Surgeons General, the staff and officers are bringing to the problem the forces of science, medical skill, discipline and social service.

With what disappointment, therefore, you will listen to these figures of our Army showing the computed annual rate of admission for venereal disease per 1,000 men, based on reports to the Surgeon General for the twelve-week period, September 21 to December 7, 1917.³

Of 1,000 men in our Army there were afflicted with disease:—

Regular Army.....	88.0
National Guard.....	115.2
National Army, composed largely of drafted men direct from the people.....	162.4
An average of.....	121.9 ⁴

May I point out to you incidentally that while 121.9 was the figure for this disease, the total figure for pneumonia, dysentery,

² The rate in the American Army today is given in the foot note on page 16.

³ With the application of the selective service draft the Army changed its policy from rejection of all applicants with venereal disease to acceptance of all men thus infected who were not hopelessly crippled or unfit for any military service.

⁴ See footnote 3.

typhoid, paratyphoid, malaria, meningitis, and scarlet fever was only 25.7.

Why is it that with the great activity and skill of the Medical Department these figures should be so large, so alarming? Note the time during which these figures were taken,—the twelve weeks when the army was absorbing great masses of citizens.

Inasmuch as the newly discovered cases, whether old or new infections, were being reported as the “new cases” during this twelve-week period in the National Army of drafted men, these figures should not be compared with either the National Guard or the Regular Army. However, the National Army, more than either of the others, is a cross-section of the physique and character of the men of this country. Of this typical cross-section based on an annual rate for this twelve-week period, 162 were diseased out of every thousand men.

Let me now give you some suggestive figures of the Army during two weeks.

The first week, ending September 20, 1917, there were admitted to sick report for venereal disease of every 1,000 men in the Army distributed as in the three main divisions:—

National Guard.....	2.9
National Army.....	7.4
Regular Army.....	1.5

The second week, twenty-six weeks later, on March 29th, after the men had been under military discipline:—

National Guard.....	1.0
National Army.....	1.3
Regular Army.....	1.6

To these conclusions we are driven:—

1. The drafted men, typical of the community, have a far greater percentage of the disease than the others.

2. Under military discipline and methods of repression and prevention the number of the diseased decreases.

3. Under the conditions of camps in this country the boys and men are far safer from disease than in their own home towns and cities. /

4. The high purpose and determination of the medical service and of our military leaders give strong assurance that in meeting

the very difficult conditions in France, a country desolate, in parts demoralized, weary of war, bereft of strong men, full of chivalric and self-sacrificing women ready to show their gratitude to America, the young men of our Army will as a whole be held to loyalty, purity and health. And so far as I can get figures and impressions from personal letters, I believe that even there the American boy is safer from disease than in his home city. The time has now come for society to turn upon itself with alarm. For fathers and mothers, for all citizens to look to the base of supply of venereal diseases, our own streets and homes. "Physician, heal thyself."

I will not harrow your feelings any more with the awful tragedies at our doors. I am only a layman. Read the reports of experts, Osler, Rosenau, Biggs, Morrow, Vedder, Exner, and a score of others. Study the records of your poorhouses, insane asylums and jails, your orphanages and hospitals: talk with your physician, though professional honor prevents him from telling you all. And note that the disease permeates every class in society, especially the poorest and the richest.

If we at home are to start and carry on a warfare against this disease, we may turn to the Army for our principles and methods so far as we can use them. The first and deepest reason for the success thus far attained is the high purpose and the determination of the men who have the fight in hand. They know better than we do the tremendous conservatism which army life brings with it. What has been, must be, says the conservative soldier. "Men must have women, you can't help it." "You cannot put out of business the oldest profession in history, prostitution." "Disease of course, it has always been. You may do something to check it, but you can't be too sanguine."

But the modern soldier knows that to make an effective army the day of swash-bucklers, of drink, and loose women has gone by. The facts, military and medical, are against them: and each year sees that class dying off.

The Army regulations of today are in all questions of morals pitched upon a very high note: the soldier's character as well as his physique is a serious matter to his officers. The whole atmosphere of the camp is that a man who falls under the disease has been untrue, disloyal to his comrades—and that brings many to a better mind and life.

What are the definite means of prevention of the disease in the Army?

1. See the man that has the disease and keep a keen eye on him. To do this every man entering the service undergoes a thorough examination and afterwards a biweekly inspection. When necessary, the Wassermann blood test is given and in the course of the year, so far as practicable, every man will receive this test. Then if he is admitted to service and is also infected, he is, so long as he is a danger to others, isolated in the venereal disease hospital, and when release from hospital is safe, he is followed up until his cure is as certain as is possible: and even then his record stands for the future. If the man and all men could be held in camp all the time, they could be kept from infection. But on leave they must go outside of the discipline of the camp and into society. There is the danger of infection.

2. Hence the prophylactic treatment. This, perhaps, does more to cut down the number of infected men than any one cause. It is as radical as it is effective. Every man returning from leave who has been in danger of infection must report immediately to his medical officer and receive prophylactic treatment.)

If this is given within a certain time after the possible infection, it is a practically sure preventive. Hence any man who has the disease is liable to be court-martialed on the ground that he did not report. Thus reporting is really very general.

Combined with this, are the shame attached to exposure to infection, the disgrace of the venereal ward, the rebuke and advice of his officers, and the loss of pay. In the hospital he receives the most skillful treatment, the use of salvarsan and other modern methods; for the Nation is paying the costs, and he must get back into the ranks at the earliest safe date.

Twice a month every man in the ranks is thoroughly inspected for disease or physical defect, and if there are any symptoms of venereal disease, he is watched and treated.

3. Next to this medical treatment—some would say superior to it—is the character and force of the commanding officer of the camp: for from him the staff and regimental officers take their cue.

Under the present regulations the statistics of the health department will show with practical certainty the character and force of

the commander. Camp conditions differ of course; some are near low-toned towns and cities—some away from all population. Allowing for these, a division general can by a study of the medical reports know whether the camp commander is worthy of his post. And if he is not, the public opinion of the Army as well as the higher officials will, if true to themselves, relieve him of his post.

4. This Nation is now entering upon a great and most interesting experiment based on a sound philosophy and social experience. The best fighter is the normal man trained in body, mind, and character to the highest military efficiency. Men to remain normal require a certain amount of variety of interest, change of thought and exercise, play, books, and society. In Christian armies religion has always been recognized. It is being supported at fresh points.

Every citizen is so familiar with the principles and methods of the camp activities that I need say no more. The most radical move is the presence of women in the camp. Instead of the camp followers of old, we now have women, strong, mature, tactful and attractive, in camp, canteen and hostess house. A letter from a landing port in France is before me. "I wish," the writer says, "the people at home could see the boys' faces brighten as they come off ship and see one American woman waiting there to greet them. It gives them just the right start in this strange life."

These facts of the Army give me the message of hope to society. Under military discipline, with high purpose and medical skill, the disease can be prevented, cured and stopped—not in a day or a decade, but the facts show that under certain conditions and character it can be done.

The vital question for us is: Are we ready to support to the full this program to lessen and in time eradicate the disease? Is society going to help or obstruct?

The Army comes from society: the recruits have shown the condition of society. The danger is not in the Army but in the city, not so much in France as in the industrial town and country village. I need not repeat the facts. If we are to support the Army and win this war, there has got to be a tremendous cleaning up of ourselves, our own neighborhoods, our streets and theatres, our hotels and resorts. Yes! Education and warning must enter

the homes of the innocent for their protection. First the people must have the facts. The great engine of publicity is the press. But they will not give the facts: they claim that the people will be offended at them.

I challenge the newspapers of this country, those with great circulation, to place upon their front page, not two or three startling statements with sensational headlines, but the figures that I have given or such a succinct statement of facts as the Medical Departments of the Army and Navy are ready to give them, revealing the conditions of society in relation to the Army. It is a war question, as vital as food and fuel. They say that the people do not like such facts: they offend their taste. Let the press try the people.

It is time that the lid be off and men and women meet this problem as they have met diphtheria and tuberculosis. Of course there is a difference. People protest that "this disease touches sexual problems and questions of morals: the finger of scorn will point at the victims. Doctors cannot report their cases to the public. We are not an army." No, we are not, but must we therefore do nothing and continue to poison our Army? We are told that if people begin to talk about such things, it will lead to improprieties.

People are talking: you are talking: I am talking: our boys and girls are talking: the stage is talking. Why not come out into the open, and let the talk be healthy, sane, medical and practical?

What now can society, which has not the discipline of the Army, do to protect itself and the Army?

First, I have said, publish the facts. The first thing is to get them: thus far we have little more than estimates, good guesses on the part of experts as to society's condition.

A few states are pointing out the path, and as Massachusetts is the latest, I select that for our study.

In December, 1917, by action of the Public Health Council, gonorrhea and syphilis were added to the list of diseases declared dangerous to public health. Think of it, our own state, only two months ago!

The next problem is how to spot the infected person, the carrier of the disease, to prevent him from being a source of danger.

For the object of the program is not punishment or publicity but the safety of the community through the cure of the infected. If physicians are compelled by law to report the names of infected persons, many of these will keep away from physicians and thus be a menace to society. Hence the state by a certificate system receives from the physician a number which will always identify the patient, the physician holding the name in confidence. The physician or his successor, if the patient change doctors, is held to account for the patient whose name, however, is given to the Board of Health if he evades the law. The reports are made to the State Board of Health, not to the local board.

Establish "approved clinics" throughout the state, where adequate treatment may be had, free to the poor—a small charge as a rule. The purpose of these clinics is to stop the disease and make the patient harmless to others.

Follow-up work by social workers from the clinics. The building of hospitals for venereal diseases.

Of what use is it to treat a thousand prostitutes or a hundred infected tramps and send them back onto the streets without the cure and upbuilding which a hospital gives? We might as well collect poison, make it into pills, sugar-coat them and throw them to the crowd, as to treat and not cure such people and send them back to the street. So much for the medical side.

As to the social methods. The first aim is to break up the alliance between prostitution and alcohol. Every expert that I have read, every medical officer that I have talked to, every officer of the Army—one of the last was General Leonard Wood—says the greatest obstacle to the suppression of venereal disease is alcohol. Stop the men drinking, and you have won more than half the battle.

The Government has acted to protect our soldiers and sailors. Why should not the same protection be given to our munition workers, our shipbuilders, and the whole people? I say no word here about Constitutional Prohibition: whether in great industrial states more or less alcohol may be drunk under that form of prohibition allows of differences of opinion. But of this I am clear, that during the War the same protection should be given all the people as is given our soldiers and sailors: and I am confident that the War motive which supports the enforcement of our Army

would support the enforcement for the whole people. Meanwhile, so long as medical officers and experts say what they do of the immediate relations of alcohol and venereal diseases, I believe that it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to do what he expects the man who is giving his life for him to do,—abstain from alcoholic drink.

Whatever the law is on the subject, are we as a people ready to act upon that voluntary action? Shall we help or obstruct the Army?

Other social efforts follow. Of the highest importance, the organization for social service and repression of vice by all the communities about the camps, a clean five-mile zone and more if necessary. Repression of street solicitation, police and reformatory action: rehabilitation of the prostitute: improvement in living conditions, athletics and all those influences which go to the building up of healthy bodies and sound characters.

Three definite pieces of work are vital:—

1. Probably fifty per cent of the prostitutes are sub-normal mentally or in will power, some really feeble-minded. The tremendous work of protecting this great mass while still children is an immediate duty. And a large percentage of the diseased boys and men are sub-normal also. Thousands of these of both sexes infect the strong and normal: thousands of sub-normal children are born of these, and the vicious circle, demoralizing the people and costing the Nation millions on millions of dollars, continues its round because we do not want to face the facts.

2. The great source of supply of the thousands of open and clandestine prostitutes is the young girls with easy-going, careless parents who have no thought of leading their children to better things than they can find on the streets and in the parks. Silly, and fond of fun and admiration, a man attracts them, and once fallen, sometimes through ignorance, sometimes through a temporary affection, many of them are within a year or two diseased, demoralized, practically outcasts of society.

No police or reformatory or house of mercy will correct these conditions. The responsibility falls upon the homes, the Church, the schools, and public opinion. When will the mothers who proudly send their boys to the War take pride in protecting their boys by keeping their girls happy and pure at home?

Shall the women of this country turn in with all their might to study the girl problem, and in sympathy with the emotions, ideals and habits of girls, lead them to a pure and true womanhood?

3. To meet the sex problem and passions, a pure and happy home, a sound body, the habit of work, a sense of duty, and a religious faith are the best assets.

In these days, however, some sort of education in sex relations, simple, sympathetic and brief, is a necessary safeguard. How that shall be done may be answered in many ways: and because we are in doubt as to the best method, we cannot leave it undone.

All these things have a direct and immediate relation to supporting the Army in winning the War.

My last thought is this, a somewhat personal one. The greatest shock that has come to me in the study of the facts is not in the pervasive infection of the community, not the horror of the disease or even the tragedy of the results, but in the amount of immorality, the thousands on thousands who are yielding to illicit passions. If we add to those who are diseased through immoral relations the number of those who have immoral relations either frequently or occasionally and who escape infection, we count an appalling percentage. The question is not so much of national disease as of national demoralization. From such habits come, of course, frequent divorce, broken homes, parentless children. A people so living demand a licentious stage and foul literature.

The facts are interesting and enlightening as to our social conditions. Again, it is interesting to note how when the Christian Church has given up saving the heathen by threatening them with the terrors of hell, many social reformers and doctors are bringing that motive to bear upon men and women, on boys and girls, to save them from vice. The threat works sometimes—it probably brought some heathen to Christ: but as a motive power it is really very weak.

In the sex problem we are dealing with primal passions, next to self-preservation probably the greatest passion. This turbulent stream of passion cannot be held in restraint by fear of a future: it will take its chances. It cannot be checked by any such discipline as civil life offers. Even the harshest military discipline

can hardly restrain the passion when in battle the brute has been roused and in victory the brute sees women.

Strength of will and character are built up by self-mastery, by good habits, and by that spiritual force which has exceeded all others in human history, religious faith. It fails a thousand times but it still remains the greatest power. You may bring back the Army one hundred per cent clean by prophylactic treatment and medical skill—fine soldiers, true to military discipline.⁵ If, however, they are only physically clean and subject to outer discipline, if they have not been built up in character and self-mastery, then when they are mustered out to break ranks they will fall into the arms of women who will infect and destroy them. A light-hearted crowd will cry, "They have fought well, let the boys have their fling." Is it for this that we seek victory?

Let our appeal to the men be high: to their honor—how easily they drag even a low woman one step lower in degradation? The meanness of taking advantage of a weak-willed girl. She is the sufferer. How can a man, remembering his mother and sisters, steal the virtue of a pure woman?

The chivalry of the twentieth century protects women. Let our appeal to women be high: the sanctity of womanhood, the beauty of chastity, the holiness of marriage and childbirth.

After all, the body is the Temple of the Holy Spirit. Defilement of the body drives out spiritual power: an infected body leads to an infected soul. The chaplain, who is the spiritual guide of the soldiers (many of whom I know to be a centre of moral and religious force) is right when he takes for his text in the barracks Christ's challenge, "I am come that they might have life," physical, mental, moral, spiritual life—"and that they might have it more abundantly."

⁵ As this reprint goes to press, the Army statistics indicate that the rate of venereal infection contracted after admission to the Army for the first year of the war will be approximately 100 per 1000 men in the United States and 47 per 1000 men in the expeditionary forces. The lowest rate attained prior to the present war was 91.23. The army officers say this is not due to the medical measures alone but to all the medical-social work of the past year made possible through the close co-operation of the military and civil authorities and agencies.

THE BLACK SLAVES OF PRUSSIA

AN OPEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO
GENERAL SMUTS

BY
FRANK WESTON, D.D.

BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR

*Head of the Universities' Mission in the Eastern
Districts of German East Africa*

GENERAL SMUTS says :

"I have read the open letter of the Bishop of Zanzibar to me with the deepest interest. It contains a very solemn plea to the conscience of the British people, backed up by an imposing array of solid facts."

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*From General Smuts to the Secretary
of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.*

GENERAL SMUTS' HEADQUARTERS,
SAVOY HOTEL,
LONDON, W.C.

18th January, 1918.

DEAR MR. TRAVERS,

I have read the Open Letter of the Bishop of Zanzibar to me with the deepest interest. It contains a very solemn plea to the conscience of the British people, backed up by an imposing array of solid facts.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS.

THE BLACK SLAVES OF PRUSSIA

MAGILA MISSION
MUHEZA, TANGA
November 7th, 1917

DEAR GENERAL SMUTS,

You will not be surprised, I think, to hear that we who live in German East Africa are becoming anxious about the fate of the colony.

The British Government and its Allies have spoken with decision: they have pledged their honour that they will fight till liberty is established throughout the world; until no one weak people is oppressed by a stronger race. And the President of the United States has given the authority of his great country to this solemn pledge.

But there are signs that some in England and on the Continent are ready to end the war before this liberty is established. A desire for a quiet life, and, I suppose, a lust for money seem to outweigh in some minds the value of liberty; and tempt men to dishonour the sacrifice of blood and sweat that others have offered in its cause.

We are, therefore, becoming really anxious both for our Africans' future and for the honour of our country. We are afraid that Africa will be enslaved to Germany. We are afraid lest a small peace party cause our rulers to break their imperial pledge to establish liberty or die.

It seems right, therefore, that some one who knows German East Africa should publish the true facts.

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And I desire to address these facts to you, Sir, for two reasons.

First, it is right that they should be set before one who has had experience both of Africans and German colonial rule, so that he may understand the exact points involved. And no one of our leaders has that experience in the same measure as you have.

And, secondly, as a missionary bishop, I write under a serious handicap. When missionary bishops speak of African rights, men lend an unwilling ear, and "wink the other eye." You, Sir, alone of all our leaders, know something of my own attitude to Africans. If you will, you can gain for my case a fair hearing. For you can testify that during the time I served as a porter in your East African Force, your Coast Column took no harm from my holding command of its African carriers. You can tell them discipline was fully maintained, the work done to time, and that without the loss of a single load of food or ammunition.

Shall Great Britain Betray?

Before I pass to the case against German rule in Africa, there is one point of the greatest importance.

Many thousands of German subjects in this Colony have been taken by Great Britain to act as porters at the front. They have assisted our forces to kill or capture their late masters. Great Britain took them; she could not do without them. But the Germans had published orders to all the people, before their retreat began, that no one was to help the English; and that any one helping them would be liable to execution when the Kaiser's Government returns.

Is Great Britain prepared to betray these thousands to their late masters?

We called on them to help us fight for liberty. When victory comes, shall we dare tell them, It was *our* liberty, not *yours*, we sought? God forbid!

But we cannot leave it here. There is a further point.

In taking German subjects as our carriers, what was our position towards them? Were we out to enslave the conquered population, as the Kaiser does in Belgium and France? Were we heading a rebellion of Africans against the Kaiser? Or were we taking over the Colony in the name of liberty?

If we hand the Colony back to the Kaiser, we stand convicted of the very crime the Kaiser has committed: of compelling enemy subjects to help the fight against their own country. Is it conceivable we British could do that? And just because the people were not white? Again, God forbid!

If we let the Kaiser have East Africa again, we shall be guilty of a monstrous betrayal of thousands who gladly trusted us, and followed us to the war.

A Personal Experience

Let me now turn to the question of German rule in East Africa.

I will grant, gladly grant, the efficiency of the German system; and acknowledge no little assistance from some of the officials, from the time they found us established here on their arrival until within about two years of the outbreak of the war. My business, however, is not to discuss how English missionaries get on with German officials. We have to enquire how Germans treat Africans, under their colonial system.

What follows is my own personal experience. I record what I have seen and heard and know. What the indictment would be were several men to write I

dread to think. Here is one man's plain story. It may be well to add that I am in my twentieth year of residence in East Africa and in my tenth year as Bishop of a considerable part of German East Africa; that I have many acquaintances and friends among Mohammedan and heathen Africans, and do not live merely among Christians; and that I can speak with the people freely in our common tongue, Swahili:

And the sum of my story is this: —

I will describe the state of things prevailing in the Colony before the war, in ordinary times of peace, when officials were at leisure to do their best for their subjects.

The officials are, in the main, painstaking, accessible and conversant with the customs of their people. In civil matters they are more or less just to the native, and ready to seek the facts.

“ They Rule Entirely by Fear ”

Their failure is due to their inbred cruelty, which they encourage their African underlings to copy. They rule entirely by fear; and cruel punishments are their means of spreading terror throughout the land.

For example. The Government appointed Labour Commissioners to check the excesses of planters. On the civil side they did much useful work. But their methods of punishing the labourers were so cruel that they undid the good they accomplished.

Flogging is the German's pleasure. Twenty-five lashes are given as commonly as in London, on a big day, the police cry, “Move on.” While fifty lashes, in two instalments, are very frequently given.

Now there are floggings and floggings. The African does not easily cry out. And those who have had to pass Government Houses at flogging times will

bear me out that it was no ordinary flogging that produced the shrieks to which we had to listen. I am personally not averse from corporal punishment: it has much in its favour. But cruelty is not punishment. The German *sjambok*, of rhinoceros or hippopotamus hide, is cut to damage, not merely to hurt; the soldiers who lay it on are past-masters in the art; and the German himself presides at the ceremony to see that no mercy is given. To make it still more cruel, there is a notorious "law of floggings": I hope not official, but certainly enforced by the officials. It is this. The condemned man is not tied up, as he ought to be. He lies on the earth, his face in the dust or on a hard floor, as the case may be. After the first two or three strokes he usually has to be seized and forced to keep still. If he continues to wriggle and scream, he is liable to receive the same number of strokes again, there and then.

Flogging Most Cruel

Again, when the punishment is over, if in his pain and excitement he forgets to come to attention and salute the German, he is liable, there and then, to receive the whole punishment again. Thus while the law orders fifty lashes to be given in two instalments, a man gets fifty at one time: twenty-five for his offence and twenty-five for his breach of etiquette! Cruelty is a mild term in which to describe it.

Torture is another recognized method of dealing with Africans.

The Germans always accept the word of their African underlings against a native. In small cases a flogging settles the matter. But if it be a case that must go to a higher court, or one that involves stolen property, torture is employed to produce confession or evidence.

I will give two cases in my own knowledge, both of them friends of mine.

(a) The first was sent by his German official into the woods with policemen and *sjamboks*, and beaten day by day for quite a week, until his body was a mass of wounds and sores.

(b) The second was put in the "iron-hat." A band of iron was passed round his head, and tightened by means of a vice-like screw, so as to press more especially on his temples. The agony is unspeakable.

Another dodge is to tie a string to the middle finger, pass it back under and round the forearm, and tighten — till the man confesses.

With a system such as this the police force can usually supply a criminal to meet every case; and can also wipe out all private grudges they may have against their fellow-subjects.

In fact, the underlings are as bad as their masters; and no one dare complain. Revenge is, in my experience, always taken on those who venture to appeal to the German.

Chain-Gang Torture

Again, the punishment of the chain-gang is a most serious cruelty.

Eight men, or thereabouts, are chained by the neck to one very heavy chain. They are not unchained at all till their sentence is finished. Day and night, at all times and in all circumstances, the eight men live and move as one, while they are entirely at the mercy of the gaolers, who use on them freely *sjambok*, heavy nailed boots, or the butt-ends of their rifles. I have seen *women* in chains of a lighter kind.

Many of my friends have been through this; some have died under it. My teachers, who were caught

during the war and locked up because I am English, have also given me their experience of chains. They say a flogging is preferable: they know because they had a taste of both.

Deaths in gaol were far too common. Sometimes the Germans would move a whole set of gaolers: but they did not act unless things became very bad indeed. On this I cannot lay great stress, since in the nature of things the deaths cannot now be proved. But of the brutality and ill-treatment there can be no question: there are so many who have suffered it.

Methods of German Police

Germans encouraged their police in cruelty. Even in the court, before conviction, the native was knocked about by the police: the Germans quite approved. If the accused, or his witness, did not stand at attention strictly; if he moved his hands when making his statement; if he called the German "master" (*bwana*) instead of "great master" (*bwana mkubwa*); if he showed hesitation in answering; or did not understand the German's Swahili; or if, as often happened, he blundered in putting his own vernacular into Swahili, the police boxed his ears or hit him with their fists. It was the custom. It exalted the German's dignity. That it did not serve justice was no matter.

The Government school teachers were brought up in the same way. They were so often flogged themselves at school, that they became great floggers. And a *sjambok*, freely used, was found necessary for educating small boys of any age from seven to thirteen. And it was laid on soundly.

In one case I came on a Government headman giving *sjambok* to a boy of thirteen for absenting himself from a German mission school. He told me the

head of the mission had secured an order from the District officer that all absentees were to have *sjambok* from the headman!

It is a disease, this flogging. It makes the Germans feared everywhere: but it poisons the German mind, and the mind of the African underling.

Vicarious punishment the German loves: making parents and wife suffer for the faults of son or husband. And this not for local offences in which connivance is suspected, but for crimes done miles and miles away.

Treatment of Native Chiefs

Another peculiarly German habit is the persecution of native chiefs. I will give one instance out of several.

Old Mataka, a Yao of great renown in Portuguese Nyasaland, died, leaving two sons. One inherited the tribesmen who had crossed the Rovuma into German territory; the other received his father's own district. The German official in Lindi at once tried to induce the second man to move with all his people into the German sphere. The German Mataka therefore sent a letter to his brother, warning him not to be such a fool as to move. This letter was seized at a German military post, read, and sent to Lindi. The writer, one of the highest Yao chiefs, a Sultan to his own people, was at once put in chains with rigorous labour, and after a short time died in chains.

As a final example of German terrorism, let me add that Germans on tour required as a rule to be supplied with a young girl at each sleeping-place. The headmen naturally do not pick them from their own families!

These are but a few typical examples of the work-

ing of the German colonial system. It is cruel, relentless, inhuman. And the reason is that it is German. Some of the administrators are pleasant men, kindly, affable and sympathetic with their people up to a point. They will even drink whiskey with a chosen African here and there! But once let them become official, and cruelty is the necessary attitude.

“ The Sjambok Ruled the Plantation ”

The planters exercised great authority over their labourers. In writing, some rules of restraint did exist: but they were not observed much. The *sjambok* ruled the plantation and the household. Fifteen lashes were quite easily earned; and twenty-five was the normal reward for hurting your master's temper. It was very difficult for an African to appeal to the Government against a planter. No doubt, it should not be made too easy. But there are limits. The penalty for making a charge that was not proved was a year's imprisonment and at least fifty lashes. This I was told by a Judge, in the matter of a young lad whose master forced him to shameful practices, while my observation is that the penalty for proving a charge was nearly as bad, since the employer took his revenge later at his leisure.

The reason of this latitude allowed to planters will appear later.

To sum up on this point. The German method of governing Africans is cruelly inhuman and destructive of the native's self-respect. It is exactly designed to make him, and keep him, the obedient slave of a European power, for ever and a day. The fear of the Germans is so deeply rooted in the natives that the power of initiative remains only with those who, sharing in the administrations of the country, act for

their own profit. As slavery the system is splendid. Otherwise, it is sheer cruelty, and all the Africans I know, of whatever tribe or religion, have for years past been longing for the Germans to go from their land.

The "Splendid" System of Slavery

In every colony labour presents serious problems, and many are the proposals made for solving them.

The German Government accepted two. It publicly and officially forbade all forcing of labour: the rule to that effect bearing the Governor-General's signature, if not that of the Emperor himself. Privately, and even officially, labour was regularly forced.

Governor Von Rechenberg, one of the best and most humane officials I have known, himself informed me that no labour could be forced.

His District Officers informed me that if they forced labour and were reported for it, the Governor was very angry with them; but that if they did not force labour the shareholders of the plantations made trouble for them at the Colonial Office.

It appears that among the shareholders are persons of such great weight that the local officials are bound to consider their wishes.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Officials cannot sell Government land: for that you must go to the German East Africa Company (D.O.A.S.).

The forcing of labour is so managed as to put the finishing touch to the dehumanizing of the native. It is true that in some districts, where natives live near the plantations in good numbers, a man is only required to put in thirty days every four months with any employer he may be able to agree with. Under this system the planters are, more or less, bound to treat their labourers fairly well.

Examples of Dehumanization

But in many places it is not so done. Let me give a few examples from my own personal observation.

(1) A bridegroom seized at the church door from the side of his bride, and kidnapped for labour at the coast a hundred miles away.

The District Officer said he was sorry, but could do nothing.

(2) The women of a village seized and detained till their husbands redeemed them by consenting to go to the coast for various terms: starting at that very moment.

(3) Men collected at night from their beds, tied with rope, taken to a German planter's camp, forced to accept journey-allowance under threat of *sjambok*, and then taken to the coast as volunteer labourers.

In one such case, the German whom I interviewed said he had an official license for so many men from each headman; and pleaded that his hunters always removed the rope before they produced their captives.

(4) An Assistant District Officer summoned a large meeting of elders. Eight hundred attended. After business was done, an order was issued that none could go unless a young man came in his place ready to start for the coast plantations. This official said he hated the system, but that he had to do it.

These are typical ways in which the District Officers *supplemented* the normal supply of forced labour by the headman, which was kept up regularly in some districts, law or no law to the contrary.

Shameless Planters

The result, of course, was that some planters were quite shameless about not providing decent accom-

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modation and food for their men: sickness was rife, and deaths far too frequent.

Also, they were in a position to cheat their people right and left. They all had their own stores, at which food and clothes were sold, the price being written off against the labourers' wages. The result, in view of African nature and a system of fines, was debt, and until the debt was cleared the labourer was held to work; unless he could get a District Officer to enforce the law which forbade his detention, a somewhat difficult feat. Native Commissioners did help here; but where none was to be had, the planter triumphed. And in any case the law only applied to labourers, or was only extended to them. Clerks and such-like were held in bondage till the debt was paid.

This labour system assumes that a native has no private interests, no family, no relatives, no domestic claims upon him, and no food problem of his own. He is a solitary unit able to hoe: and any German who can get him may take him at any moment of the day or night, and keep him for at least one month; or with luck three or four, or even more, months.

Conditions of Slavery

Slavery is a recognized condition under the German flag. Slaves may be sold and bought. But no freeman can become a slave, and all babes are now born free.

A slave is one who was bought or stolen or taken captive, or the descendant of such an one. And also all who ever sought a chief's protection in the old days of inter-tribal war are now reckoned as slaves, as are their descendants.

A slave can redeem himself or herself. Prices range from 15 rupees to 75 rupees, according to age and condition.

I have redeemed several hundreds at one time and another; often to prevent the separation of husbands and wives under the laws of slavery.

The District Officer at Lindi once told me his Government wished to abolish the state of slavery, and had thought of 1920 as a suitable year: but it could hardly afford compensation. The Kaiser no doubt had other ends in view for his income.

Meantime the system of slavery was much in favour with the Germans.

A planter could get hold of slaves who desired freedom; pay their master the money, and detain the slaves for a term of years while they paid back a minute sum each month, the sum being fixed by the German. Or he could deal direct with the master, and either hire his slaves for so much a year or redeem them as already explained without consulting them.

In the same way a German planter or official who desired an obedient concubine could always buy one in this way. He paid the redemption money to the master, and kept the girl and her certificate of freedom until he had no longer any use for her. She returned home a free woman.

The Prospect of Revenge

This point must not be missed. Viewing the possibility of the return of Germans and the result to those Africans who have been busy serving the English army in the colony, we may well spare a moment to ask how in the past the Germans have treated "traitorous" natives.

You, Sir, know the cruel fate of South-West African natives, and the many thousands slaughtered to satisfy German thirst for revenge.

The rebellion of 1905 in this colony cost a very few

Germans their lives. But some thirty thousand natives were slaughtered in revenge. Heads were paid for at the coast, one rupee a head, after a time; in the earlier days the so-called "friendly tribes" were permitted to massacre and rape the tribes from which the rebel had come.

Those who knew assigned the rebellion to forced labour and cruelty. The District Officer at Lindi, after "detaining" three Arabs for some months, claimed to possess letters from Cairo and Constantinople ordering the slaughter of all foreigners and their friends.

Some of his fellows were sceptical. But he had great influence, and I think the Anti-Islam legislation you discovered in the German archives dates back to his discovery.

It was frightful revenge for a very small matter. What will it be, the revenge on those who have helped the English to kill and capture almost the whole German population? No German will lift his head again until the country has been drenched in native blood: it is not in him even to try! And whatever safeguards a Peace Conference may devise, an excuse for an "expedition" is easily made.

We know that here, at Muheza, after the sudden visit of a British Intelligence Officer and the capture of a few Germans, several Africans were publicly hanged in the town; although no one here had any knowledge of the coming of the little column: it came and went like a flash.

Cruelties During the War

Of cruelty during the war it is not my intention to speak. What Germans are in war we all know now. Africa has suffered as Belgium and Serbia, but in a

different degree. We can say without fear of contradiction that enough cruelty has been shown to natives to shut the Germans out from any just claims to govern them again.

When I was with your force I was told by those in high command that natives had been thrown into the bush, their hands tied behind them, to starve to death; and that women, whose babies interfered with the carrying of loads, had to see their babies thrown into the bush to die.

Of brutal executions there is more than evidence enough, German photographs supplying corroboration, while the tales brought back to us by men who were carriers with the German forces are damning, and my teachers who were in chains and prison because I and my staff are English have a sad tale to tell — fourteen died under the treatment.

I do not dwell on these things. We may be told they are due to war madness, and the war will end. Yet I cannot pass them by in silence. For to my mind they belong to a madness that will not end; a madness that made the war, and, if it can, will make another before long.

The German Attitude

It remains then for me to sum up the situation. German rule is impossible. The German does not understand the elementary principles of humane Government. He is efficient, he is polite, he is correct in his behaviour and in his official attitude, but he is a German. And being a German he sees a native as a tool; he is cruel and inhuman, and under him the African must become a slave, or die.

I am quite aware that some Germans dislike this system: as some English planters assure me they ad-

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mire it. It is none the less true that Germans, as an empire, approve it, and Britons, as an empire, hate it.

I myself can quote cases of cruelty to natives on the part of Britons: but they are so exceptional as to deserve silence.

We must judge things on the average. And the average German is incompetent to rule Africans. The Peace Conference that shall allow him to try again will be guilty of the wilful betrayal of liberty, and of the rights of the weakest people of the earth.

There is one point raised by honest enquirers I must try to meet.

Why, it is asked, if Germans are so cruel, have their soldiers stuck so closely to them during the later stages of the war?

Several reasons are, on the surface, evident to us who know both parties and the circumstances of the people.

In the first place, it is not easy to run away from a German force. My teachers, who were carried off in chains and badly treated, found, when they were unchained and put to carriers' work, that escape was almost impossible. A few got away: while several others tried and failed. Much more difficult is it for a soldier, who may not lag behind as a sick carrier can. And of course the penalty of failure to make good an escape is frightful!

Secondly, Africans do not fancy running away from their rations; and therefore are not likely to do so except within reasonable distance of home. A force far from home will have few deserters.

Thirdly, in waterless country where the few water-places are camping-grounds for troops and porters, fugitives have a very poor time. My teachers who did escape nearly died of thirst, and were only saved by coming on English troops at a water-hole.

Fourthly, the Germans filled their troops with lies about the brutality of the British, and the fate of all deserters. This we know from those who deserted early in the campaign, when escape was easier, before the great retreat began.

Only a Matter of Time

Yet one more reason is at hand. The Germans have impressed on their men that while, through force of circumstances, they cannot resist the English in this Colony, yet in Europe they are quite invincible. Their return to the colony is therefore only a matter of time, and on their return every deserter will pay the dire penalty of his crime. Now, Sir, you know how good a defence the Germans have put up, and how, favoured enormously by the size of the country and their local knowledge, a comparatively small number of them has given us an extraordinarily difficult task. The Africans are not fools; they admire courage and cunning; and seeing what Germans can do here, they have without doubt accepted their leaders' tales of England's failure at home. My teachers in the Lindi district were officially informed quite early in the war that Germans ruled England, that Scotland was in Austrian hands; and Ireland? Well! Ireland had been given to the — Turks! This was publicly announced at Lindi by the District Officer at the same time that he promised *widows of English soldiers* to faithful Africans!

Let it be recorded to the honour of one German, the most decent-living planter in that district, that meeting my people on their way home from Lindi, and hearing from them this latest news, he told them it was lies, all lies, and expressed strong views about the immorality of the government's policy of falsifying the news.

Germans and Non-Germans

We must add to all these reasons the fact that these Africans are very faithful to leaders whom they know well, and never more so than when things are not going well, and it is also true that many Germans, however cruel in punishment, have an affable way with Africans to whom they are accustomed, not showing the same colour prejudice that so many Britons unfortunately possess. Germans, I think, divide the world into Germans and Non-Germans. Colour is a detail, concerning non-Germans amongst themselves, so that while Africans must always fear them, with dog-like fear, Germans may make pets of a few, pets to be kept in order with the whip.

This last point was clearly emphasized in the proposal to legalize marriage between Germans and African women. A bill to this effect was taken into the *Reichstag*: I did not see its fate.

Such, Sir, is the condition of slavery out of which your force delivered the people of this Colony. And such is the state to which some in England and on the Continent desire to restore the Africans. In this civil area, British rule has already begun to make itself felt, and the people are rejoicing in it. Already the Administration has worked wonders, in spite of inevitable hindrances due to our state of war.

Is it conceivable that any man of honour, any man of compassion, can for a moment consider handing these Africans back to the Kaiser's rule?

Final Plea for Liberty

And now I must have done: for I have said all that can be contained in a letter, and quite enough to show how impossible is German rule in this Colony.

I know that your sympathy is with me, as also I know that on naval and military grounds no sane man will vote for restoring to the Kaiser this strategic point of attack. For once returned here, Germany can threaten not the adjacent colonies only, but Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, while with a submarine base here she can abolish all our trade with India and the East and close the Suez Canal against us.

Yet I would make one final appeal on the ground, not of expediency and policy, but of devotion to liberty.

The sacrifices of blood and money already made by Great Britain and her Allies have gone far to make good their pledge that they will be free or die.

Freedom is now within reach, and, by God's good grace, the Entente Powers have no fear of a failure that would be a living death.

In this hour of approaching victory, then, shall we do honour to the blood outpoured? Or shall we rob our dear Dead of their triumph? In our treatment of Africa we shall find our answer. If we raise liberty to a throne so high that her scepter can reach to the remotest African tribe, then indeed are our Dead ones justified, and their blood avenged.

" If Liberty be Lost! "

But if, at the eleventh hour, we permit war-weariness to numb our aspirations, peace parties to warp our judgments, and interested counsellors to deceive our minds; if, that is, we end the war before we have set Africa and Armenia free; liberty will have been lost. Vain the sacrifice of blood; profitless the pouring out of cash; worse than useless the sorrows of a broken world; if liberty, Christ's liberty, be lost!

Of course, no man who has shared the fighting will, for one moment, question our duty of going on till liberty rule the world. The question comes from those at home who feel the pressure of the war, but do not see its real meaning. It is my hope that this letter may help some of them to see what the war really involves.

I am afraid men of my own cloth are largely to blame that so many Christians sum up this war as "God's fatherly chastisement," and would welcome its speedy close as a sign of His renewed favour. Oh! if only we could rid our minds of such cant and lying slander! I admit our share in the sins that have made modern Europe; I admit we pay our share of the bill those sins themselves present against us. But God? I see God calling on the Entente Powers to redouble their patience, and stiffen their shoulders for the final fight. I hear Him summon us all to carry on this war till the world-powers yield, and human liberty be crowned with Christ, our Liberator.

"Enslaved to Cash and Caste"

The Pope reminds us that Christ is Prince of Peace. Indeed, He is. Prince of Peace between God and man, of peace between man and man; Prince of the universal brotherhood in which eternal Love may be found revealed. But of a peace between ruling class and ruling class, while the ruled are enslaved to cash and caste; of such a peace Christ is not the Prince. The Peace of which the Christ I serve is Prince will give "peace at home" even to Africans. And with no other sort of peace will God wish us to make terms.

As a last word, let me say just this. Since it is evidently quite impossible to hold enquiries in Africa, or to refer these questions to the people, it behoves

one who dares to champion the Africans to throw down such a stake as will carry conviction to the British mind. This letter is my stake. For if the Germans return to rule here it will cost me all I hold most dear: my work, my diocese, and my numberless relations with the people of East Africa. All this I am glad to risk that these people may be set free, and our Government allowed to fulfil its plighted word, and raise liberty to a universal throne.

I am, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

✠FRANK ZANZIBAR,

Head of the Universities' Mission in the Eastern
Districts of German East Africa

To Lieut.-General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C.,
London, England.

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Rehabilitation of *the* War Cripple

By Douglas C. McMurtrie



ADDITIONAL copies of this pamphlet may be obtained without charge upon application to the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, 311 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The Institute is also prepared to furnish specific information on the organization and method of re-educational work in the various belligerent countries, as well as on the technique of training and employment for industrial cripples. Correspondence with interested individuals or associations is invited.

I

ONE of the major costs of war consists in the thousands of crippled and disabled men which are left in its train. In the past, such soldiers have been indemnified for their injuries—and insufficiently at best—by pension bounty or admission to soldiers' homes. In either instance, they have been relegated to a life of idleness and dependence. These circumstances tend to make for general demoralization, and the popular conception of the adult cripple as lazy, ill-mannered, and intemperate has too often had considerable basis of experience. This situation has been regarded as unfortunate but inevitable. The cripple has been considered as a helpless member of society, to be pitied and maintained, but to whom constructive assistance was not feasible.

This attitude is in process of change, for it has been demonstrated that the cripple, though debarred by his handicap from some occupations, could, almost without exception, be fitted by special training for some trades in which he could become self-supporting in spite of his disability. Several influences contributed to progress in this direction. In the first place the great increase in industrial activity during the past two decades brought about a corresponding increment in the number of employees crippled in work accidents. Injuries were particularly frequent in the period before the advent of the safety propaganda. Again, the state—especially in Europe—became intimately identified

with workmen's compensation, and in many instances itself assumed responsibility for the payment of the compensation award.

The waste involved in the complete support of thousands of workmen injured in more or less serious degree became soon apparent, and the authorities cast about for some means to decrease the percentage of disability. The solution was found—notably in Belgium and France—in trade schools for the re-education of the crippled victims of industrial accidents. In these schools the man who has lost the use of his leg is trained for a trade at which he can work while seated; the man lacking an arm is prepared for an occupation in which two legs and the sound arm suffice for its pursuit. Since the demand for skilled labor generally exceeds the supply, it is entirely practical to place at steady employment men trained thoroughly in a wisely selected trade. Of course there are many difficulties to overcome, but with patience, success is not only possible, but probable.

The provision of training for disabled men received a tremendous impetus at the opening of the present war. With the call of the able-bodied population to arms, the ensuing shortage of labor necessitated the draft into industry of women and old men. No potential productivity could be neglected, and the rehabilitation of the physically disabled became a national necessity. The dictates of national gratitude and national economy in this instance coincided, and in conjunction have stimulated extensive and vigorous activity.

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The first country to make actual and adequate provision for the re-education of war cripples was France. In December, 1914, Édouard Herriot, Mayor of Lyons, obtained the consent of his municipal council to establish a training school for *mutilés de la guerre*. This school—later christened the *École Joffre*—actually opened its doors to the first three pupils in the same month in which its foundation was authorized. Since then the institution has grown phenomenally, and a suburban branch has been opened at Tourvielle. These two centers have served as examples for other schools since started in other cities throughout the Republic.

In England the early work was undertaken by private initiative, but the responsibility is now national, the reconstruction work being carried on under the direction and at the expense of the Pensions Ministry. Germany projected an ambitious program in the early weeks of the war, and made actual beginnings toward its realization but little later than the French work was under way. In Canada a federal commission began promptly the establishment of convalescent homes and training classes. In Italy, hard upon her entrance into the war, there were organized, to provide for the rehabilitation of crippled soldiers, a series of local committees which were later coordinated under national authority.

Since the economic rehabilitation of men disabled in the war is a matter of such vital moment, not only to the individual but to the state as well, it is essential that any work undertaken be wise in plan, and thorough in execution. It may be desirable, therefore, to

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inquire into the principles already developed in this new and promising field.

II

The wounded soldier comes through the field and base hospital, and, finally, if his disability is such as to disqualify him from further military service, he is returned from overseas to a convalescent hospital at home. Certainly at this point, if not perhaps earlier, preparation for his social and economic rehabilitation should begin.

Before deciding what can best be done for him, the recent experience of the crippled soldier must be taken into account. In the first place, he has been away from home influence and environment for some time—perhaps one year, perhaps three. During that period he has led a life in the open, free from the many routine responsibilities of the civilian. He has been provided automatically with every necessity of life—his only reciprocal obligation being to obey the mandates of military discipline. After his injury he has been given every care which the medical corps and its auxiliaries have been able to provide. Every effort has been made to minimize worry or exertion on his part. These influences have the effect of deadening his initiative and his sense of social responsibility, and readjustment to civil life becomes in consequence more difficult.

The new handicap usually throws the man into a state of extreme discouragement. The loss of a hand, an arm, or a leg seems to the man formerly able-bodied an insuperable obstacle to his future economic activ-

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ity. The prospective pension is the only mitigating feature of this depressing outlook, and he begins to calculate how he can exist on the meager stipend which will become his due. He has basis for this expectation, for has he not known in the past several men each of whom lost a limb through accident? It was necessary for them to eke out a living by selling pencils on the street, or in some similar enterprise of makeshift character. Again, life will hold no pleasure in the future; he will always feel sensitive about his missing limb. Besides, nobody has any use for a cripple.

Such a state of mind will be encountered in the convalescent soldier. It must be met and overcome. With returning health, initiative must be reawakened, responsibilities quickened, a heartened ambition must replace discouragement. We can go to him and truthfully say: "If you will yourself help to the best of your ability, we will so train you that your handicap will not prove a serious disadvantage; we will prepare you for a job at which you can earn as much as in your previous position. Meantime your family will be supported and maintained. You will be provided with a modern artificial limb so that a stranger would hardly know you are crippled. Finally, we will place you in a desirable job."

The first reaction to this program is fear that an increase of earning power will entail a reduction of pension. When re-education of war cripples was first begun in both France and Germany, it was found that many of the men were unwilling to undertake training, in apprehension of prejudicing their pension award.

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The solution of the difficulty was official announcement that such would not be the case, but that pensions would be based on degree of physical disability alone, without reference to earning power. In Canada, a placard to this effect is posted in all military hospitals and convalescent homes.

The choice of trades in which war cripples may wisely be trained is of primary importance. In addition to considering whether men with certain types of physical disability can engage in a given trade, its present and prospective employment possibilities must be taken into account. If it is a seasonal trade, if the number of workers in any locality is so small as to make difficult the absorption of many newly-trained men, or if the industry is on the wane rather than enjoying a healthy growth, the indications are negative. The ideal trade is one in which the wage standards are high, the employment steady, and the demand for labor constantly increasing. In picking trades the present boom conditions should be discounted. Machinists are now earning fabulous wages, but it should be considered whether there will not be an extreme reaction after the war.

The trades actually being taught to war cripples are many and varied. In France at the notable *École Joffre* at Lyons there is instruction in accounting and commercial subjects, toymaking, bookbinding, shoemaking, woodwork, mechanical drafting, tailoring, wood-carving, gardening, and machine tool work. At the suburban branch at Tourvielle, agricultural courses are given. In Paris at the *Institut National Professionnel des Invalides de la Guerre* are taught the stan-

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dard trades of tailor, shoemaker, harnessmaker, and tinsmith. Also, dependent on the ability of the individual pupil, instruction is provided in accounting, industrial design, cabinet-making, and automobile engineering—particularly the operation and repair of agricultural tractors.

In Rome, the Italian war cripples are being taught commercial subjects, carpentry and wood-carving, bookbinding, box-making, saddlery, and leather work, shoemaking, tailoring, and blacksmithing. At Naples there is instruction in shoemaking, tailoring, telegraphy, and commercial subjects.

The school in connection with the Maximilian Hospital at Petrograd offers a considerable range of courses, among them the following: manufacture of orthopedic apparatus, locksmithing, shoemaking, cabinet-making, and tailoring.

At Nürnberg, Germany, the crippled soldier learns to become a blacksmith, locksmith, maker of orthopedic apparatus, machinist, cobbler, tailor, cabinet-maker, saddler, upholsterer, weaver, paint-brush maker (a strong local industry), printer, or book-binder. There is also instruction in industrial design as applied in varied fields. At the Düsseldorf school instruction is given in machine tool work, mechanical drafting, building trades, telegraphy, and commercial and civil service subjects.

In England, the workshops of the Incorporated Soldiers and Sailors Help Society provide training in the following trades: carpentry and cabinet-making, printing, polishing, carving and gilding, picture framing, toy-making, basket-making, metal work, building

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and construction, decorating, and electrical fitting. The principal subjects at Roehampton and Brighton (Queen Mary's Convalescent Auxiliary Hospitals) are inside electrical wiring, motor driving and repairs, and woodworking, which includes bench and lathe practice. At Cliveden and at other points in Britain agricultural training is available.

In the Canadian schools, under the auspices of the Military Hospitals Commission, the leading trades are motor mechanics, machine-tool work, carpentry and woodturning, inside electrical wiring, telegraphy, cobbling, operation of agricultural tractors, general farming, and poultry raising. Instruction is also provided in bookkeeping, general office work, and civil service subjects.

The section of the country in which a man lives also has a bearing on the choice of a trade in which he is to receive instruction. Thus, a Canadian living in Montreal may be trained as a machinist; the same man, if a resident of a far western province, would better be given instruction in the operation of motor tractors for agricultural work.

It is axiomatic that a man should be given his course of training in a locality near home. Here he will not feel so strange, friends will not be far away, and the educational authorities will be in closer touch with the local industrial requirements and employment conditions.

III

It is the general consensus of experience that the decision by the man to undertake a course of training

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must be a voluntary one. Of course, he may be retained in the military organization and detailed to trade classes in the same way as he is detailed to guard duty, but this would not make for successful results. The unwilling and rebellious pupil learns but little; the earnest and ambitious one makes rapid progress. The man must be persuaded, therefore, to take up instruction; the future advantages of being a trained workman in some skilled trade should be pointed out, and the practical arrangements to be made for him during the course of instruction carefully explained. There is no royal road to success in this effort, but after gaining the soldier's friendship and confidence, a patient persistence will win the battle. If a competent visitor has been in touch with the man's family during his absence at the front, the members of the home circle can be easily convinced of the wisdom of his re-education; this will make all the simpler persuasion of the man himself.

A great aid in helping a soldier to decide about his future is acquaintance with the records of other men with similar physical handicaps who have made good—men who have been trained and who are now holding jobs at attractive wages. In addition, such practical results lend plausibility to the expectations in prospect which are being held out to him. A difficulty, however, is found in the abnormal premium on industrial labor in war time. Even a disabled man may be able to go out and earn seven dollars a day in a munitions factory. This constitutes a very potent present counter-attraction to representations of moderate but

permanent employment after a course of training. If he makes the opportunist choice he will, upon the return of employment conditions to normal, be reduced to the status of a casual laborer, perilously near the verge of mendicancy. No pains should be spared to avert this eventuality.

Care should be taken, however, that representations to the man, while encouraging, should in the main be accurate. Workers with crippled soldiers should not be misled by reports of extraordinary success in isolated cases. The men will, sooner or later, learn the truth, which will thus tend to discredit the veracity of the vocational officials.

In deciding which of the available courses an individual disabled soldier should pursue, the first effort should be to fit him for an occupation related as closely as possible to his former job. His past experience—far from being discarded—should be built upon. A competent journeyman bricklayer who has lost an arm may be prepared by a suitable course in architectural drafting and the interpretation of plans, to take a position as construction foreman of a bricklaying gang. It were idle to give such a man a course in telegraphy. But a train hand who has been all his life familiar with railroad work may most wisely be trained as a telegraphic operator, with a little commercial instruction on the side. This man will then be fitted to obtain employment as station agent at some minor point on the road. There is an additional advantage in instances such as the two mentioned in that the former employer will be willing to engage again a man with whose record and character he is familiar—once

there is assured the competence of the ex-soldier in his new capacity.

This rule applies, however, only to men who were, previous to their enlistment, operatives in the skilled trades. Their problems are the simplest of solution. But in the present war, when not only professional soldiers, but whole nations are in arms, there will return disabled many young men who had not yet attained a permanent industrial status. Some will have entered the army direct from high school or college; others will have been migratory workers who had not yet found a permanent niche and whose experience has been too varied to be of much value; still others will have been drawn from unskilled and ill-paid occupations which hold little future opportunity for the able-bodied worker, and almost none for the physically handicapped. Among the latter will be found those who have been forced to leave school and go to work at too early an age, and to whom society has not given a fair chance. When they now return from the front crippled for life and having made a great patriotic sacrifice, it is surely the duty of the state to repair so far as practicable the former inequality of opportunity, and provide for them the best possible training. It would be a cause for national pride if, in the future, such men could date their economic success from the amputation of their limb lost in their country's service. And this is entirely within the realm of probability.

With these latter classes there is, therefore, no former experience of value to serve as a guide in the choice of a trade in which the war cripple is to be

trained. We must then fall back on the general principles of vocational guidance. The more important factors will be natural talent, personal preference or taste, habits of work, temperament, and the general character of the individual. Advice in each case should be given by an expert vocational counsellor, a man familiar at once with trade education, with the requirements of the various industries themselves, and with the current status of the labor market. His opinion should take into account the report and prognosis of the medical officer, and also the past record of the individual. As has been pointed out, the friendship and confidence of the soldier are absolutely essential. Very often these are difficult of attainment and the prospective pupil's reserve is penetrated only in the fourth or fifth visit. As the decision to undertake training at all must be voluntary, so must the choice of a particular trade meet with the full approval of the soldier himself. And if, after beginning the course, the subject proves definitely distasteful, the opportunity to change to another trade should—within reasonable limitation—be permitted. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the unwilling pupil is a poor learner indeed.

It would seem inadvisable to train a man for an occupation which he can pursue only by use of specialized apparatus adapted to the individual motor limitations imposed by his deformity. While a badly crippled man may be taught to operate a lathe with special treadles or to run a typewriter with special paper feed and shifting mechanism, his employment

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opportunities will be precarious. It may be possible to secure for him one specific job which may be arranged for at the time he starts training. But if he cannot get along personally with his employer, if his family must move to another city, if his wages are not advanced as his product increases—for these and a myriad other reasons, he may become practically unable to obtain other employment, and the value of his training will be thus nullified. Ingenuity should be directed rather to fitting crippled men to meet the demands of standard trades, in which there will be not one or a dozen possible jobs, but thousands. Only thus can the man be made actually independent.

It is absolutely essential that training, if provided at all, be thorough. The pupils are men, not boys, and they cannot go out in the apprenticeship category, as do the graduates of regular trade schools—and even in these the present-day standards of proficiency are high. If ill-trained men are graduated from the classes the results will not be fortuitous. Employers will be convinced that the theory of re-educating returned soldiers is unsound; the men will come to distrust the representations of prospective success which have been made to them. There will be, further, an unjustified disturbance of the labor market and its wage standards if a school turns out into a trade as professedly skilled operatives a crowd of undertrained and inexperienced men. Schools of re-education must not contribute to difficulties of this character.

One of the most notable features of the work in France is the length of some courses in which the war

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cripples are trained. To even comparatively simple subjects instruction periods of twelve and eighteen months are allotted. This permits the men to obtain not only a theoretic education, but a fair degree of practical experience as well—an experience which is of especial necessity in restoring to the soldiers a confidence in their own competency.

IV

The attitude of the public toward the returned soldier will do much to make or mar the success of work with the war cripples. The man returning disabled from the front deserves the whole-hearted gratitude and respect of the nation, but to spoil and pamper him is an ill-advised way of meeting the obligation. Parents who wish to do the *best possible* by their children do not manifest affection by spoiling their digestion with an eagerly received surfeit of candy. They rather seek to provide a good home environment, exert a firm but kindly discipline, and obtain for their children the best educational opportunities. In other words, the emphasis is on values of permanence. The same general principles apply in the relations of the public to the ex-service man.

In one of the allied countries the wife of a returned soldier complained to the representative of a patriotic relief agency, which had been attending to the family needs while the chief breadwinner was at the front, that her husband would never spend any time with her or with the children. She had wanted that after-

noon to have him accompany them to the park, but he disdainfully refused, saying that he was going out for an automobile ride and later to a 'sing-song' at one of the fashionable hotels. The musical entertainment referred to was being provided by the society ladies of the city, so mother and the children went to the park alone, while the 'hero' was receiving appropriate recognition of his services.

Of course the most pernicious expression of this attitude is the indiscriminate 'treating' of the disabled soldier at the corner saloon—except of course in those localities which have made this more or less impossible by the enactment of total prohibition.

In some cities the 'patriotic' hysteria of the public has been such that neither the police nor the military authorities are in a position to restrain or punish returned soldiers, even when they have become seriously disorderly and objectionable. This is no kindness to the men and casts a most unfavorable reflection on the service as a whole.

On the other hand, a nation cannot go too far in showing gratitude to the war cripple, provided the manner of its expression is sound. To give him the best of medical care, a first-rate artificial limb, a thorough and capable training to fit him for a remunerative trade, and a chance of employment a little better than the average—these constitute the real public duty, a duty not so simple of fulfillment as the mere provision of social entertainment.

The one form of expression should be frowned upon as actually unpatriotic; the other should be promoted and encouraged. Some propaganda for public edu-

cation in this respect may become necessary, if the plans for the war cripple are to be worked out to a thoroughly successful conclusion.

V

The greatest obstacle in the past to the success of schools for the trade training of adult cripples lay in the support of the pupil during the period of the course. A school could offer the best of facilities, and be in a position to practically promise a man at the conclusion of its course a position at double his former wages, yet the prospective pupil could not even consider the proposition because meanwhile he could not manage to exist, and must needs continue at even the worst type of makeshift occupation.

But with the soldier cripple, this difficulty disappears. The man is already on the payroll of the state, he has been injured in his country's service, and it is logical and proper that he should be adequately supported until he is fitted for repatriation. His military pay and the separation allowance to his family should both be continued, or, if discharged from the army, corresponding training stipends awarded; with such provision he can enter upon his training in peace of mind—without which the instruction could not be effective. If the institution he attends is a boarding school, maintenance would also be provided; if it were wise for the man to live at home there could be made a further allowance in commutation.

To complete physical rehabilitation in amputation cases, artificial limbs must be supplied. At the outbreak of the war, the supply of limbs presented to the

European countries a most difficult problem. The demand was many times greater than it had ever been in the past, and the major portion of the continental supply had always been drawn from Germany. In the emergency thousands of appliances were imported from the United States, which has always been credited with making the best artificial limbs. Later the various belligerent countries began to manufacture limbs themselves. The factories, operating under official auspices, are enabled to utilize any patented features without paying royalties.

Each limb must be made to individual specifications and fitted to the stump of the patient who is to wear it. This makes desirable centralization of this activity. In Canada, for instance, all amputation cases go to a hospital in Toronto with an accommodation of four hundred: here the limbs are manufactured, fitted, and applied.

That a stump shrinks for some time after amputation introduces one element of difficulty, in that a limb which fits six months after amputation may come far from doing so after twelve months. For this reason it may be wise to provide the soldier at first with a single temporary limb, and later with a more elaborate and permanent one. He must be quite explicitly assured of this plan, however, as he will otherwise become suspicious of being put off with an inferior article.

Very remarkable results in cases of arm amputation are now being accomplished by prosthesis, *i. e.*, the fitting to the stump of special appliances. Thus, instead of being provided with a well-appearing arti-

ficial arm, there will be attached to his stump a chuck in which he can insert interchangeably a knife, a fork, a tool, a hook, or some special implement by which to guide or steady work on which he is engaged. These 'working prostheses' are often individually to meet the requirements of the particular trade which their wearer is to follow.

Both prosthetic apparatus and artificial limbs advantage by simplicity. When too complicated the men lose faith in and discard them. For some types of manual workers it may be wise, for instance, to provide the primitive 'peg and bucket' leg for use in working hours, and in addition a more esthetic type for wear on Sundays and holidays.

VI

As the choice of trades should be influenced by the labor conditions of the community, so must employment of the graduates be closely integrated with the course of instruction. Not only must a position be secured for the re-educated soldier, but he must be placed as intelligently as possible. To the man the work must be satisfactory and the environment agreeable; to the employer the personality of the soldier must be acceptable and his product sufficient to the requirements. Of course, this ideal can only be approximated, but a trained and capable employment officer can do much in this direction. Only by skilled and thorough work can permanent results be obtained—and nothing is more costly to all parties concerned than short-time employment and frequent change of job.

REHABILITATION OF THE WAR CRIPPLE

Ten men placed in ten jobs by the opportunist method of sending the first available applicant to the first available position may be unhappy themselves and unsatisfactory to their employers. Yet the same ten under different and wiser placement direction may be almost ideally located in the same jobs. It is to this end that tends the natural system of employment and discharge, but it is a costly method and one that, for the crippled soldier, should be made unnecessary.

The first job for the man returned from the front is easy to secure—so easy that we should not be misled by the superficial indications. The employer is patriotic and anxious to help the crippled soldiers. But when the war shall have been over a few years, these motives will be no longer effective. The man taken on in a time of national stress will be just one of the employees, and his retention in service will depend upon performance alone. If the original placement was intelligent, the man will have made progress, gained confidence and experience, and made his position sure. If, on the other hand, he was ill-fitted for the job, he will have grown progressively less efficient and in consequence discouraged, and his status will be precarious indeed. A permanent injury might thus result from an employment bungle in the first instance. All this simply means that effective placement is not an amateur job.

Employment work for returned soldiers would be immensely facilitated by the enactment of national prohibition. In one province of Canada placement of soldiers is extremely difficult, and for some men ten and fifteen positions must successively be obtained,

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each job being lost for one reason only—intoxication. In a neighboring province, with prohibition, these difficulties do not appear. Soon, by virtue of recent legislation, traffic in liquor will be forbidden in all parts of the Dominion; we should not fail ourselves to profit by this example. The chance of successful rehabilitation will be tremendously enhanced by protecting the men from the influence of the saloon.

The actual methods of placement need not be here discussed, but to one feature attention may be called. Disabled soldiers must be regarded as a special class. The transition from military to civilian life involved in entering on the first job is a more radical step than is taken by the average employee going from one position to another. The placement must, therefore, be followed up after the first few days of work, the apprehensions of the 'green' employee must be dispelled, his difficulties adjusted, and his confidence fortified. If this follow-up can be done by a person whom the ex-soldier knows and trusts, it will be all the more effective.

VII

Should the support and direction of after-care for the war cripple be public or private? The answer to this question is unequivocal—the responsibility is most emphatically a national one. This can be demonstrated not only as a matter of principle but also by actual experiential results.

From the viewpoint of principle, it may be concluded that the returned soldier should not be dependent for one of his most vital necessities on the

dole of private charity, for which is expected a grateful appreciation. Were the work's auspices of such character it would materially prejudice the attitude of the men. The soldiers might very logically object to passing around the hat in order to provide for them facilities, the need of which is not open to argument. There should be not the least hint of patronage or pauperization in this partial restitution made by the state to those who have been disabled in its service.

Empirically, the indications for public assumption of responsibility are all positive. The most obvious point lies in the uncertainty that the facilities privately provided shall be commensurate with the demands. In the wealthy urban centers schools for re-education would be numerous and well-equipped; in the rural sections and in the smaller cities there might be almost no provision at all. It would be intolerable did a crippled soldier from Arizona have any less chance for future success than his fellow veteran from Boston or New York.

Again, the extent and thoroughness of the work would be subject to fluctuation, varying with the results obtained in solicitation of funds. The income would likewise adversely be affected by a competing financial campaign—another issue of Liberty Bonds, a second Red Cross week, might mean dropping a useful subject, shortening a course, refusing admission to some eligible applicants.

Under private control, furthermore, the standard of work would vary greatly. The schools would not have the advantage of central direction by expert and capable executives. There is also no riper field for

the expression of mawkish sentimentality than in caring for the crippled or blind, and the injured soldier must be protected from becoming its victim. With schools operated under local auspices there would be a few good ones, and many of the indifferent variety. And there is no problem more delicate than that of coping with ill-directed and silly charitable enterprises. One can picture the invective of local newspapers if the military authorities refused to assign soldiers to a certain institution because its standards of administration and instruction were considered below par. The time to avert such predicaments is prior to their rise.

Let us consider, on the other hand, the advantages accruing from centralized public control. The factor of most moment is the character the work then assumes in its relation to the individual war cripple. It becomes regarded much as is the public school system; the soldier is thus entitled to training by virtue of his rights as a citizen and an honorable public servant. There is of charity no taint whatever.

With an acknowledged national responsibility, the facilities provided can keep pace with—or, indeed, ahead of—the requirements. The work can be carried out on a plan fixed in advance, and its standards be consistent country-wide.

Another advantage of federal control lies in the simplicity of integration between the medical and educational interests. The former is under military and, therefore, national authority, and simplification of procedure cannot but result from having the latter of like scope. The training classes must in many in-

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stances be carried on in medical institutions, as there is a considerable period of convalescence in which the men should be under re-education. Again, one of the principal methods of restoring disabled soldiers to health is the prescription of specified exercise, and it has been found that this is best gained in workshops rather than with mechanotherapeutic apparatus. Finding that they can do some practical thing, however simple, is immensely encouraging to men who may have lost all hope of future usefulness. Occupational therapy plays now one of the leading rôles in the convalescent treatment of the wounded, and this makes all the more desirable a close relation between the two branches of the work.

A central and national direction of the work for war cripples does not in the least preclude the utilization of volunteer effort and facilities. In fact, voluntary contribution of time and money is highly desirable, particularly in committing more people to a first-hand interest in the enterprise, and in giving the schools root in their local communities. Buildings can be loaned, trade school classrooms and equipment made available, machinery and apparatus for instruction donated, funds contributed, and personal service volunteered. Existing organizations can offer to provide the necessary social service work in the homes of the men; local employment agencies can be of help by acting as links in the national chain.

Such private assistance will be more than desirable; it will be essential. Because provision for war cripples is a temporary problem, it would not be wise to erect new buildings, equip expensive machine shops,

and build up a complete and self-sufficient organization for a few years' work. For trade classes it will be better to obtain the use for part time of shops in existing schools—institutions which will be in position to afford such facilities on account of the number of their regular students who will have been called to arms. In England, the technical institutes are being widely used; in France, many war cripples are being instructed in the regular schools of agriculture.

But under these conditions the private contribution helps rather than hampers the effectiveness of the national plan.

It may be remarked in passing that the facilities built up for war cripples will not be entirely temporary, but that part will be continued to provide re-training for industrial cripples—a class more numerous even in time of war than disabled soldiers, but one whose needs have in the past been seriously neglected. This may be one beneficent outcome of belligerency.

A concrete program for the reconstruction of disabled American soldiers and sailors has not, at this writing, been determined upon. It is clear, however, that the responsibility for this work will be nationally assumed. The details of system and method can easily be worked out under competent administration, but it is imperative that definite action be taken without delay so that preparation of facilities for our returning men can be set at once under way.

Let us discharge, to the highest possible degree, the nation's obligation to the war cripple. Let us so act in this greatest of all wars as to mitigate the shame of his treatment in the past.

15

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE CHURCH

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE CHURCH

SURELY the Christian Church, in all its parts and members, should welcome the project of the League of Nations and organise itself into vigorous unanimity to press it to the front in the attention of all civilised peoples: both as a practical proposal made to us by our most experienced and most trusted statesmen and as a proposal profoundly congenial to the Christian spirit. This is the thesis which I seek to maintain in this paper.

THE PROPOSAL OF THE LEAGUE

The proposal, I repeat, comes not from wild idealists but from practical statesmen, from President Wilson and Mr. Taft, from Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Grey and Mr. Balfour, and from others in the allied and neutral nations, to say nothing at present about Germany and Austria. Such men cannot be accused of seeking "peace at any price," or of failing to appreciate the supreme importance of prosecuting the war with unrenmitting energy to the furthest pos-

sible point of success. But they will not be satisfied with military successes. They demand also this pacific measure—the organisation of a League of Nations. They regard it, no doubt, as difficult of realisation but not as impracticable. They speak of it as the most hopeful, perhaps the only hopeful, basis of a just and enduring peace.

Something will have to be said later about the details of the scheme, so far as they have been formulated or outlined. But let us take it now simply in its most general idea—that of a League of Nations to maintain and enforce peace, with an international tribunal to decide “justiciable” disputes between nations—that is such questions as having been embodied in treaties or coming under the head of some accepted international law admit of settlement by judicial process—and for the greater matters of controversy an international court of arbitration which must at least have all such matters fully laid before it by the contending nations, and have time allowed to it to make proposals and to have them listened to and considered by both sides, before either nation or group of nations could go to war or mobilise its forces for war without becoming the enemy of the whole League; and the authority of the League is to have behind it the sanction of economic pressure to be exerted by the whole League—such as the boycotting of a recalcitrant nation—and, at the last resort, the armed force of the whole League to support its action.

THE REACTION IN POPULAR PHILOSOPHY

Now it represents a great change in international politics that our responsible statesmen should accept as practicable such an embodiment of a supernational authority. But it is not too much to say that this idea of a League of Nations is, through the welcome these statesmen have given it, taking the place formerly held in men's minds by the idea of the Balance of Power.

The idea of the Balance of Power was rooted in the principle of selfishness—the corporate selfishness of nations. Every nation, it was assumed, would seek its own ends undeterred by any consideration for its neighbours' welfare. The only way to minimise the threat of war, arising from jarring interests, whenever one nation should have the strength to crush another, was to organise such combinations of nations in rival alliances as to balance one another and to produce an equilibrium in which the chances on either side of victory or defeat would be so equalised as to reduce to a minimum the probability of any nation being willing to take the risk of war.

There was here no appeal to any higher motive than national selfishness. On the moral plane the idea of the balance of power among the nations was of a piece with the idea which was at work in the industrial world, the idea of free competition between individuals or classes; each individual or class, or group of individuals or classes, being supposed to have no motive which could

effectively be appealed to than the motive of unlimited acquisitiveness, the desire to sell its goods or its labour in the dearest and to buy the goods and labour of others in the cheapest market. The good of the world, it was imagined, would best be secured by this principle of unrestricted competition, in which appeal was made, in industrial or political life, to no other motive except intelligent selfishness, individual or corporate. Intelligent self-interest, science and commerce, without any higher moral appeal, were relied upon as the instruments of progress and peace.

Such a philosophy was at its zenith in the middle of the last century. But we have seen its setting. Long before the war the philosophy of selfishness had been discredited alike in the internal life of nations and in their mutual relations. Within the nations it had led to the commercial exploiting of the weak by the strong, and to disgusting extremes of poverty and wealth; and, in reaction from these abuses, it threatened us with civil wars, the wars of labour against capital. Society appeared to be tending to disruption. In the wider relations of nations, it kept us perpetually on the edge of the dreaded gulf of war, war made far more horrible by the progress of science; and the "Balance of Power," on which it had bidden us fix our hopes, had shown itself quite powerless to deal either equitably or successfully with the problems of insurgent nationality such as presented themselves in the break-up of the old Turkish Empire, which the great nations had taken

upon themselves to solve without war, and had conspicuously failed.

Thus, the philosophy of selfishness, the basis of the theory of unrestricted competition in commerce or of the balance of power in international politics, had become widely and generally discredited. Commerce and science had shown themselves at least as efficient instruments of tyranny, injustice and war as of fraternity and peace. The world was disillusioned. Its nineteenth-century ideals were dimmed or discarded. And then the dreaded thing suddenly happened. The great war engulfed the world and holds it still in deepening desolation and anxiety—"men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things that are coming on the earth."

We simply cannot face the future without some fundamental "repentance" or change of mind in the nations—corporate repentance on the widest scale. We cannot face the prospect of a peace, patched up with whatever balance of success on one side or the other at the end of this war, which shall leave every nation to expend its resources again in piling up gigantic armaments and entering into rival alliances, ready, as soon as an interval of time has supplied a measure of recovered strength, to break out again in renewed war. Equally we dare not face the future in home politics on the basis of class war. The two prospects together threaten our civilisation with nothing less than dissolution.

We have read skilful pictures drawn by imaginative

artists as from 3000 A. D. of another civilisation, a recently recovered civilisation, looking back with horror upon the dark ages which had followed the total break-up of our present civilisation under the twin hammers of social and international war. We could not be amused at these cleverly drawn pictures. They had a horrible verisimilitude. "The giant forms of empires on their way to ruin" is indeed a familiar feature in the world's history. We read of the decadence of civilisations in the past almost unmoved. But we had never contemplated the dissolution of our own civilisation—a relapse into barbarism after all its boasts of secure progress. It is this terror which has frightened us out of our old philosophy of unlimited competition. At home we see that we must substitute the true ideal of freedom—the welfare of the whole body and of each individual member of it as dominant over the selfish ambitions of its more capable members. In some broad sense we have almost all become socialists.

But Mazzini has shown us that it is not enough to think of the world in terms of nations. It is not enough to secure the supremacy of the nation over the individual or the family. And there is no logic in breaking off at this point. As the individual is a member of the nation and must subordinate himself to the welfare of the whole, so is the nation to the whole body of nations—to humanity. There, too—in the international relations—we need a socialism to subordinate nations to the good of the race. This is the great repentance—the deliberate change of mind—asked of us.

It is true that during the dominance of the old philosophy of selfish individualism there have been prophets of a truer faith who showed how rotten was the basis upon which we were seeking to rest our civilisation. Such were Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin, and such was the man just mentioned, who was truly the greatest prophet of democracy—Joseph Mazzini. It is true, also, that there were good Christians, such as William Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury, who broke in upon the accepted assumptions of our political and industrial life with the insistent and imperious demand for mercy and justice. And a kindly and Christian human nature was always and everywhere mitigating the remorseless dogmas of philosophers and economists even in the regions of trade or politics.

But the spirit of the age was against them. The philosophy of individualistic competition was the dominant spirit; and the most remarkable feature of the whole situation was that the Christian Church, in the main and in all countries, was content to be silent, drugged by the dogmatic assurances of a false philosophy into acquiescence in principles which practically excluded the fundamental Christian maxims from any application to the world of industry and to the relations of nations to one another.

As we contemplate the history of the world during what may be called the period of industrialism, which is the period also when the idea of the balance of power held sway amongst nations, the silence of the Christian Church—the absence of any corporate protest in favour

of the fundamental principles of human fellowship and peace—the acquiescence of the Church in economic selfishness and a narrow patriotism appears as one of the most remarkable instances of moral blindness which history presents to us, at least as remarkable as the earlier blindness of the Church to the sinfulness of persecution and torture as instruments for disseminating or defending the religion of Jesus Christ, or again as remarkable as the blindness of the post-Reformation Church to the iniquity of slavery. But it is not too late for the Christian Church to recover its true voice. The old dominant notes are now hushed. A great change of mind and ideals has come over the world, both the world of industry and the world of international politics.

With the former region—the world of industry—we are not here concerned. But in the latter region the change is marked by the rise of the demand for the League of Nations. It affords the Christian Church the greatest opportunity it has had, since the war began, to make its distinctive contribution to the influences telling upon the nations and to show the special quality of true Christian patriotism.

But is it really the case that there is a distinctive kind of patriotism which is Christian by contrast to the patriotism which commonly possesses men? Has Christianity really anything to do with international politics? That is the question, and the reasons for an affirmative answer are profound and convincing.

CHRIST AND PATRIOTISM

1. That Jesus Christ was a patriot, who felt in His blood the passion of the love of country, is apparent in His agonised cry over apostate Jerusalem. Let it be taken for granted that He gave His sanction to patriotism, as a divine instinct, like the love of home. But like every "natural" instinct it is full of self-assertion and sin; and Jesus of Nazareth stands at the head of the great succession of Israel's prophets in claiming that patriotism shall be purged and curbed and reformed. This is evident in His whole relation towards that intense patriotism which characterised the Jew. It was an acute form of what we now call "nationalism," the demand for national independence and, beyond that, for Jewish supremacy in the world. Such an arrogant claim on the part of so insignificant a people as the Jews in face of the Roman Empire is to be accounted for by the religious faith which lay behind it. The prophets had foretold the supremacy of Israel. The world was to find its centre in Jerusalem and its temple; and from that centre the authority of the sacred law was to be supreme over all the nations. It is true that, as the prophets were interpreted by Jesus Christ and His Church, it appeared that their meaning had been misunderstood and perverted by Jewish patriotism. Still the common interpretation lay on the surface of the prophecies.

When our Lord came into the world the Pharisees

had indeed settled down to acquiesce in the supremacy of Rome—all the more readily because they had been badly used in the period of Jewish independence by the Hasmonean priest-kings. The Sadducees, in like manner, were content that their ruling family should hold a position of local administration under Roman control. But the heart of the people never acquiesced. The spirit of nationalism still dominated them. Of this nationalist movement the Zealots were the fanatical leaders. And we can best understand the attitude of Jesus towards this movement if we think of one of the twelve, Simon the Zealot.

We can understand quite well how he would have interpreted the proclamation of the Kingdom and the coming of the Christ, when it began to be whispered that the new prophet, Jesus of Nazareth, was “he that should come.” If the awful majesty of Rome seemed to make Jewish pretensions ridiculous, doubtless the Zealot expected the miraculous arm of God to be bared to effect the impossible upheaval. Was “anything too *harû* **fôr** the Lord”? But when he joined the company of the disciples of Jesus, he found himself subjected to a bitter disillusionment. Nothing, it appeared, was further from our Lord’s intention than to head a movement of Jewish emancipation. Nay, when it became evident that the people of Israel was, in bulk, rejecting Him, it appeared also that in His eyes Israel was doomed, and the most solemn and definite announcements came from His lips that Jerusalem and its temple were destined to immediate and complete overthrow at

the hands of the Gentiles. The judgment of God, awful and irreversible, was upon them.

This did not mean that the purpose of God would fail. As our Lord's intention made itself gradually manifest, it appeared that a catholic church, in which Jews were to have no prerogative position, was to take the place of the Jewish nation-church. The "whole world" was the horizon of Christ.

Perhaps no harder claim was ever made upon the heart and mind of a man than was made when Simon the Zealot was bidden by Jesus Christ steadily to contemplate the irretrievable ruin of his nation and its sacred shrine, and then, instead of bursting into tears and wringing his hands, to be so detached from the anguish of his nation that he could look out with an eager joy for the fulfilment of the purpose of God—the coming of the Kingdom of which the ruin of Israel was but the necessary prelude. "When these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh."

This piece of imaginary biography, which cannot be far from the truth, can effectively show us how far the patriotism which Jesus sanctions is from common patriotism. The patriotism which is common is always narrow or selfish. It always claims God and His power for its own nationalist ends. It is a spirit of corporate selfishness. But the patriotism which Jesus can bless always sees the nation as the instrument of a divine purpose wider than itself. The nation is the

servant in a cause which is to minister impartially to the good of all mankind.

Thus it is hardly possible to exaggerate the restraint and the claim of sacrifice which Christ laid on the instinct of patriotism. It is true, indeed, that no such claim is now made on us, British or Germans or Frenchmen or Serbians or Belgians, as was made on Simon the Zealot and on his Jewish brethren. We are not required to contemplate as lying in the purpose of God the extinction of our national independence and the ruin of all that we associate with the name of our country. For that we thank God, indeed. But it is a severe yoke that is laid upon our popular patriotism. We are required to humiliate its arrogance and to banish its selfishness. We are required to value our nation as an instrument for ends that are wider than our nation. We are required, practically, to remember that in the sight of God, in the judgment of Christ, no nation has any prerogative right, that He cares equally for every race of every colour or capacity, and that He lays it upon each nation alike to make the most of itself and its resources in order that it may better minister to the needs of all mankind, and maintain the universal and impartial interests of justice and freedom and peace.

CHRIST AND CATHOLICITY

2. This impartiality of God in the face of all that divides men was at the heart of the teaching of Jesus

Christ about the fatherhood of God. He has no special regard for the important people—the rich, or the learned, or the powerful. He cares for all alike with a solicitous, exacting and particular love. He makes on all the same claim for a universal and particular care for others. Even the barrier of nationality goes down. It was true that He was sent only “to the lost sheep of the House of Israel”—that His direct mission was only to Israel. He even spoke a word which savoured of contempt in the hearing of His disciples to the woman of Canaan, when He was beyond the borders of the Holy Land. But we cannot but believe that He, who had so wonderful a power of reading men’s hearts, saw that she would bear the strain of this rebuff, and that He spoke the word of seeming scorn in view of the welcome into which it was to break. He found the essential quality of faith in the Canaanitish woman, as in the Roman centurion. And this in His eyes was the only essential quality. He anticipated the judgment that “with God is no respect of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.” He talks about “the whole world” and not Israel as the sphere of the Gospel. Finally, He sends His disciples to “make disciples of all the nations.” Thus St. Paul, the apostle of catholicism, was true to the spirit of his Master, and expounded truly His inner mind. And St. Paul’s glorious assertion of the principle of catholicism marks an epoch in human thought.

It is true that a certain conception of the unity of

humanity gained possession of the Roman Empire, apart from Christianity. But it involved the inclusion of all races under a single government. Again, a certain cosmopolitan ideal is represented by Stoicism. But Stoicism never showed any signs of power to convert the world. It was a "monastic" philosophy for the elect "wise man." Its ideal was detachment, not love. But St. Paul proclaims a jubilant gospel of universal brotherhood in Christ without distinction of race or class or sex—a fellowship of all mankind in a catholic church.

When you come to work out the realisation of this idea in history you see how ingrained in the heart of man is the pride or narrowness which resists it and often appears to defeat it. St. Paul faced the full force of this resistance. The church in Jerusalem, which seems in the early chapters of the Acts to be aflame with love, so as to ignore the limitations of private property and to have "all things common," exhibits this power of love only so long as all the brethren are Jews who "keep the tradition," and breaks out into resentment and active hostility, hardly to be restrained even by James, the Lord's brother, as soon as it appears that Gentiles and Jews are to be on equal terms in the Church of Christ. This reaction of Jewish narrowness failed of its baneful effect upon the Christian development on the whole, partly through the influence of St. Paul, but even more because the small strictly Jewish element in the early Catholic Church was swal-

lowed up in the inrush of Gentiles, and was obliterated in the destruction of Jerusalem.

Then there was no further difficulty about the catholic idea within the Roman Empire and its vast power. It is true that from very early times Christianity got beyond the Roman Empire, as at Edessa, and Christianity outside the Empire showed separate tendencies. It is true also that within the Roman Empire, before it broke up, racial jealousies and distinctive tendencies showed signs of being formidable disruptive forces within the church. The theological animosities represented by the Nestorian, Donatist and Monophysite schisms owed more than has been commonly suspected to nationalist feeling in Syria and Africa and Egypt.

Later, as the Eastern and Western Empires drew apart, theological and ecclesiastical divergencies followed the political separation. And, when the great schism occurred, it was at least as much due to political jealousies as to theological questions. It was the first great and conspicuous failure of the principle of catholicism within the church. Still, in the half-converted West, where the new Europe was in the making, amid the seething life of the new nations, the idea of the catholic, supernational fellowship, centring in the Papacy and thence wielding authority, was a majestic and dominant influence, showing at times splendid capacity, but making also, consciously or unconsciously, tremendous concessions to unregenerate human nature,

as in the matter of war or the use of force for the interest of religion.

Athanasius had thought it certain that there could be no war among Christians and that a converted race would at once "beat its swords into ploughshares." To his mind the abolition of war between Christian nations was so much a matter to be taken for granted that it could be urged as an incontrovertible argument for the divinity of the Christ who showed this pacific power. And other fathers had thought it inconceivable that force could be used among Christians in the promotion of truth or suppression of heresy. Such a use of force they held to be flatly contrary to the fundamental Christian method of moral persuasion.

These anticipations were sadly falsified. The fact is that the "conversion" of Europe was at best a lamentably incomplete and superficial process. The use of civil force and military violence to "convert" or destroy heretical or non-Christian individuals or peoples became the accepted and consecrated method. And within the catholic nations the Church showed little effective power to prevent wars. This was in part because Christianity inevitably compromises in the matter of war. It has never refused, it never can refuse, to allow to an unjustly attacked nation the right or duty of self-defence. And what constitutes the justice or injustice of an attack always remains an ambiguous question on which national feeling is hotly enlisted. But no doubt the main cause of failure was the natural love of war. In the books of Samuel "the

time that kings go out to battle" is a mere synonym for the spring, when the restraint of winter upon military expeditions is over. War was the natural occupation of kings. And it remained so in the mediæval period. Religion, embodied in the Catholic Church and centring in the Papacy, had not influence enough, even in the zenith of its power, to restrain the mutually aggressive ambitions of mediæval monarchs.

Later the Holy Roman Empire became a shadow. The political power of the Papacy declined. The modern nations formed themselves with all their separate tendencies and interests. Then when the Reformation came, though it was at the start a religious rebellion against enormous abuses in the Catholic Church, yet it fell in with the disruptive tendencies of developed nationalism. Separate national churches formed themselves in Germany, England, Scotland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. Russia had already its national church owning no connection with any Western church.

Thus over the greater part of Europe the separatist national tendency almost obliterated the very idea of the catholic, supernational religion. Even within the limits of the Roman Catholic Church, after the Reformation period, the idea of church-fellowship ceased to have any considerable influence on the conditions of war or peace. Political interest determined the relation of one nation to another with very little reference to whether the rival nation was of the same religious communion or no. And so we come down to the present world-war, when the nations of Europe and America

and Asia and Africa are waging terrible war with one another, without any question having been raised at all whether those who are being attacked and destroyed are Catholic or Orthodox, or Anglican or Protestant, or whether they are Christian, Mohammedan, or heathen. The very idea of the restraining, pacific power of catholic fellowship seems to have vanished from the earth.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CHURCH

But man's necessity is God's opportunity. The world's despair is the church's hope. Some way of peace for mankind must be found, or the whole slowly-built fabric of human civilisation, after all our self-confident boasting of our science and our education, will dissolve into ruin.

The expedient is proposed of the League of Nations. It will rest, confessedly, on no religious basis and will have no authoritative religious sanction such as the Middle Ages would have provided or professed to provide. Nevertheless, it will rest upon the idea of a fellowship of humanity, supreme in its interests over all separate national claims, a fellowship based on justice and the rights of weaker as well as stronger nations—an idea which has mainly had its origin in Christian thought or imagination, and which is the product of a civilisation at least deeply leavened by Christianity and to which the name of Christ is still the name above every name.

Let the Church of Christ, then, marshal all its

divided forces to welcome and keep to the front in the attention of mankind this League of Nations, based on the recognition of the fellowship of nations, and force it into practical realisation. So it may give new life to the idea of a catholic supernational fellowship. So it may revive the longing for a catholic church worthy of the name. So it may not only make the nations feel that Christ is the Prince of Peace, but also make the greatest possible contribution to the widely-revived aspiration after religious reunion amidst the separated fragments of Christianity. A conference of free nations to determine their disputes may be the harbinger in the remoter future of a really ecumenical council of Christendom.

And for the purpose of promoting the League of Nations, Christendom, even a divided Christendom, can already act as if it were, what in its central being it still is, one body. I have long been persuaded that the best immediate way of promoting religious unity in our own country is for all the fragments of the Christian Church to act together, as if they were one, on the moral and social questions of the day. Let us join to attack the questions of housing, wages, fellowship of employers and employed, commercial dishonesty, secret commissions, intemperance, and sexual morality, so far as they affect public policy. In the country as a whole, and in each town and district, let Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Protestants sit together in common council, and act together and bring the weight of their combined moral influence to bear on these grave ques-

tions of public policy. So far as their religious principles admit, let them join in prayer together on neutral ground. So they will learn to know one another and act in common. This will be the best basis for religious reunion of a deeper kind.

So, on the wider field of international relations, let us adopt the same method. The Head of the Roman Catholic communion and the Anglican Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, acting with unanimity in their convocation, and the leaders of the Free Churches, have all given the weight of their support to the proposal of the League of Nations. Let them not be content to act apart. Let them combine in England and America for the same purpose. Let them organise themselves for a propaganda.

Cannot the same be done by the Roman Catholic Church in the countries of its communion, under the leadership of the Pope? Let the same be done in the small remnant of neutral Christian nations. If we cannot, as I feel sure we cannot under present circumstances, have an Ecumenical Christian Conference, such as the Archbishop of Upsala proposes, let us have co-ordinated action in all Christian countries, by all portions of Christendom on behalf of the League of Nations.

The difficulties of the proposal are no doubt portentous. Let us consider at least briefly the conditions involved in the formation of the League, that we may not appear to underrate the difficulties.

1. What is needed is that the League of Nations

should not be left unarranged and undefined, as a remote prospect somewhere beyond the peace; for if the peace is arranged on some other basis, the moment for a fresh organisation is not likely to arrive. What is needed is that the League shall be the central article of the peace, the basis and guarantee of the whole new situation. This will be possible only if the nations, as well as their leading statesmen, are already prepared and well informed as to the principles of the League. This, again, requires an active *propaganda* to begin at once; and, for my own part, I do not see why, within the Alliance, progress should not be made at once with the formulation of its terms.

2. The League will fail of great part of its effect if Germany and Austria do not enter into it. But here we encounter a gigantic difficulty. A profound suspicion attaches itself in the mind of the Allied statesmen and nations to all the pledges or promises of the German Powers. Nothing at present can restore confidence in the intentions of their rulers. Thus the greatest promoter of the League would be such measure of military success on our side as would permanently and publicly discredit the militarist party in Germany, and bring to the fore the pacific and democratic elements in German opinion which really favour the cause of human liberty. That such elements of opinion exist in large force there seems to be no doubt. But the League asks that they should become dominant. The League should be, as President Wilson called it, a League of *Free Peoples*. But the change in the balance

of forces in Germany is only likely to be brought about by the failure of the military projects of the ruling class. To bring this about is the military problem of the immediate future. Only let it be observed that so far is the promotion of the League of Nations from being antagonistic to the vigorous prosecution of the war that to all appearance its success depends upon the war being not only vigorously but successfully carried on, to the point of fundamentally discrediting German militarism.

3. On the other hand, we have in Russia a lamentable spectacle of the failures and crimes of liberty. We do not despair of an emergence in Russia of ordered liberty. But undoubtedly the prospect is dark. And the present failure of Russia has not only enormously weakened the Allied cause, and the cause of liberty in Germany, but it has added a quite fresh difficulty to the formation of a League of Nations which should include Russia. The other nations cannot make a league with chaos.

4. The idea of the League which subsists in the minds of the statesmen draws a distinction between minor or "justiciable" causes of dispute between nations—what one may call questions of detail—and the greater questions in which those vast but vague interests, the honour and security of nations, are involved. The former are to be submitted to an International Tribunal for settlement; the latter to an International Conference or Court of Conciliation for discussion and mediation, the terms of the League requiring that each nation should be

willing to give time for the Court or Conference to meet and review the situation, and make suggestions—time also for the suggestions to be considered—before war is declared or the forces of either party mobilised. Here the weight is thrown upon the value of delay. But no one can fail to see that where so inflammable a quality is concerned as national honour, delay, though it affords valuable assistance, may not suffice to subdue the storm.

5. The League cannot, of course, come into effective existence unless it has behind it sanctions which are sufficiently formidable. The sanctions proposed are the use by the whole League of an economic boycott of any nation which either refuses to submit to arbitration in the case of justiciable disputes, or refuses the required delay in the greater causes. Again, behind this economic boycott would be the use of armed force. An international agreement must bring into existence an international force to be used at the last resort against the offender. Now all this is a novel machinery, involving, no doubt, innumerable difficulties of detail and principle. It is necessary especially that free commerce and free passage by sea and land should be the normal principle between the nations, only to give way to the principle of exclusive dealing where the situation has arisen which requires and justifies weapons of warfare against an unduly aggressive nation. It is necessary again that the whole question of organizing an international force for land and sea should be studied

and brought out into effective solution by the time of peace-making.

6. It is hardly possible that there can be an effective League of Nations without some principle for the reduction of armaments being agreed upon. Here again we touch a matter of tremendous difficulty.

7. Finally, the whole question of the representation of nations great and small on International Courts and Conferences bristles with difficulties. It is probable I should only betray my ignorance if I were to venture on this ground. But it is manifest to all that there is a real danger of the great nations, if they are represented proportionately to their power, overwhelming the weaker nations and acting to their detriment. It will be very difficult to secure the rights of the smaller nations as they exist at present, and of national groups which emerge into nations in the future. In all these matters, as in others, the entrance of America into the war—detached as America is over European questions—is an immense advantage. But no doubt the difficulties remain portentous. As we confront any careful statement of them by an expert hand we feel like Plato's Socrates, when he was propounding his ideal republic and trembling before the expected waves of obloquy and ridicule which his proposals would excite. Apart from difficulties of organisation and difficulties of detail, there is no question that any proposal, however moderate, to limit by international or supernational control the judgment of a nation about what its

own honour and interests require will excite against it a very deep and widespread passion of national pride.

THE GROUNDS OF HOPE

Upon what, then, can we rely for hope and resolution? I think upon three main considerations:—

1. The first is the despair of the future which fills the minds of the people of all kinds when they contemplate the tendencies of national rivalry as they existed before the war and led to its outbreak, unless they can be profoundly modified or effectively restrained. We simply cannot bear to think of making a peace, however just a peace, and then leaving the nations, after a period of exhaustion, to watch one another with the old jealousy, and build up armaments, the one against the other, with more than the old lavishness of expense, and a scientific ingenuity sharpened tenfold by experience, and form alliances as of old, one against another, until another world-war breaks out. If this be all that can be looked for, I say, despair possesses us. Nothing less confronts us as the inevitable issue than the ruin of a civilisation which it has taken so many centuries to build up: both its economic ruin and the ruin of its culture and its freedom. I suppose that it is this dread that has made the greatest practical statesmen in many countries propound and support a project which seems to vulgar eyes so idealistic as the League of Nations. It does demand a vast change of mind in the sentiment of nations towards one another. But our

practical statesmen recognise that nothing else than such a world-wide repentance can save the situation from ruin.

2. Our second ground of hope is the progress and the international sympathies of democracy. In his splendid "Complaint of Peace" Erasmus, in 1517, ascribes wars to kings and peaceful tendencies to "the people, the ignoble vulgar." "If the military transactions of old time are not worth remembrance, let him who can bear the loathsome task only call to mind the wars of the last twelve years; let him attentively consider the causes of them all, and he will find them all to have been undertaken for the sake of kings; all of them carried on with infinite detriment to the people; while, in most instances, the people had not the smallest concern either in their origin or their issue."¹ "As to the people; in all these countries the greater part of the people certainly detest war, and most devoutly wish for peace."

I cannot but think that this represents still the truth as it is in general. It is possible to imagine a militarist and bellicose democracy; and certainly where a nation has been robbed of its territory a republic will be as determined to recover it as a monarchy. But, on the whole, it remains true that if there were nothing but really democratic nations, whether republics or constitutional monarchies in form, the warlike tendencies of the world would be enormously reduced; and

¹*Complaint of Peace*. English translation (Headley Bros., 1917), pp. 43, 100.

the more international sympathy and intercourse came to prevail among democracies, the less chance there would be of war. In England we believe that, on the whole, the working people will give the readiest welcome to the League of Nations, and will be the least afraid of what it involves.

Now all appearances point to the progress of democratic feeling and the democratising of institutions as the tendency of the future. The violence of the Russian reaction is not likely to terrify the masses of the people. Thus our second hope lies in the strengthening of the principle of democracy; and, if we cannot get rid of secret diplomacy, yet we can feel a rational confidence that, the more democratic nations become, the more afraid will their statesmen be of contracting any serious obligations on behalf of the people of which the people are not cognisant.

3. But in the last place—and this is the point of this paper—we look with a profound hope to the Christian Church. True, there is no rapid road to heal the divisions of Christendom. But there is no reason why in welcoming and promoting the League of Nations the Christian Church should not even now act as if it were one. The same agreement to act together is feasible on all social and moral questions so far as they affect public policy. In the case of the League of Nations the heads of the Roman, the Anglican, and the chief Protestant communions, both in the British Empire and in America, either have spoken in assent already or are likely to do so very soon. Why should not all the

portions of Christendom in every nation combine into a single body to welcome and to propagate the principle of the League? For, indeed, it is its own voice that the Church hears echoed back by the statesmen who propose it. True it is we are a long way off a reunited Christendom—such a supernational fellowship of men as the Catholic Church should be. True it is that the League of Nations will be on no professedly religious basis, and will exclude no nation on account of its religious beliefs. Nevertheless, there can be few practicable measures which would be so strong a witness to Christian principles as the formation of a League of Nations to promote and maintain peace, and nothing would make the peoples of the world understand what Christianity stands for better than the spectacle of a divided Christendom reunited at least to promote this purpose.

Thus we can face all the grave difficulties involved in a League of Nations with resolution and courage, relying on the hope which springs out of the heart of despair and finds in the dissolution of the old order the promise of the new—on the sound instinct of democracy triumphing over dynastic ambitions—and on the reviving spirit of Christianity, the idea of catholic fellowship. It is the will of God.

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THE PIRATE'S PROGRESS

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE U-BOAT

BY
WILLIAM ARCHER



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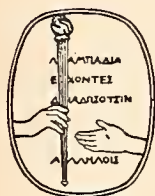
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PREFACE

THE annals of the sea contain many stories of disaster, from the loss of the *White Ship* to the sinking of the *Titanic* and the *Empress of Ireland*. We have all been accustomed from childhood to read with deep emotion the accounts of historic shipwrecks, the tragic details condensed by Byron into the stanza:

Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell,
Then shrieked the timid and stood still the
 brave,
Then some leaped overboard with dreadful yell,
As eager to anticipate their grave;
And the sea yawned around her like a hell,
And down she sucked with her the whirling
 wave,
As one who grapples with his enemy,
And strives to strangle him before he die.

Even more terrible than the stories of the disasters themselves are the accounts of the agonies endured by survivors drifting helplessly on rafts or in open boats, and dying, one by one, of hunger, thirst, and exposure. These things cannot but haunt the imagination, especially of a seafaring race. There have been those

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who have been tempted to question the beneficence of the Power which brings to pass, or permits, such horrors as have frequently been enacted on the treacherous sea.

But until the present war broke out it had occurred to no one to imagine that disasters due to "the act of God" would ever be reduplicated with cold deliberation by the act of man. Who could have conceived, at midsummer, 1914, that more destruction to the world's merchant shipping, and suffering to harmless seamen and passengers, would be caused within the next three years by the calculated policy of a so-called civilised power, than had been attributable in a century to perils naturally incident to the lives of those who go down to the sea in ships? This is the phenomenon with which we are face to face to-day—the callousness of man far outstripping in its ravages the heedless destructiveness of natural forces. It is an appalling picture, and one well calculated to give the final touch of bitterness to that loathing of the German idol—War—with which Germany has made it her business to inspire all reasonable men.

The following pages contain a sketch of the gradual decline, in Germany's employment of the U-boat, from honourable to dishonourable, and finally to atrocious, uses. The time has not yet come for an exhaustive history of her piratical

Preface

career. Only a few of its more conspicuous episodes are here briefly recorded, but sufficient to show to what depths of infamy she has been dragged down by a false philosophy playing into the hands of an overweening national egoism.



INTRODUCTORY

WHEN war broke out in August, 1914, the value of the submarine was as yet untested. It was practically a new weapon. At the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 it was not sufficiently developed to play any part. Its probable influence on naval warfare had, of course, been the subject of eager speculation, but with no guidance from experience. Some authorities—among whom was Admiral Sir Percy Scott—thought that the “introduction of vessels that swim under water had entirely done away with the utility of the ships that swim on the top of the water.” To many people in England, at the beginning of the war, this was a very disquieting doctrine; for, though our strength in submarines was great, it was manifest that the submarine could not fight the submarine, and, if a few undersea boats could destroy or paralyse a great battle fleet, it was possible that the Navy on which we so implicitly relied for the safety of our shores, and for our power to carry on the war, might prove a broken reed.

Introductory

Events soon proved the baselessness of this apprehension. The submarine, at all events in its then stage of development, had made no revolution in naval warfare. Legitimately used as a fighting instrument, it was effective and formidable, but very far from all-powerful. The early successes of the German U-boats cost us the lives of many gallant seamen, and gave landsmen some uneasy moments. But neither in battle nor in the "war of attrition" did the submarine play anything like the determining part which had been predicted for it. Not until it had proved wholly indecisive as a factor in honourable warfare did Germany conceive the hope of reaching a decision in her favour by employing the U-boat as an instrument of ruthless piracy.

Let us briefly review the legitimate exploits of the German undersea fleet, before passing on to the immeasurably longer catalogue of its crimes.

**THE
PIRATE'S PROGRESS**

THE PIRATE'S PROGRESS

I

THE U-BOAT AS A LEGITIMATE WEAPON OF WAR

SOME people had imagined that the very beginning of the war would be signalled by some spectacular submarine enterprise on one side or the other. Nothing of the sort took place. It is true that on August 9 U-boats attempted an attack on the British first light cruiser squadron; but its only result was the loss of one of the assailants, the U 15, which was sunk by H.M.S. *Birmingham*. The war was a month old when the U-boats drew first blood. On September 5 the light cruiser *Pathfinder*, 2,940 tons, built in 1904, was sunk off the Isle of May at the entrance to the Firth of Forth by the U 2, commanded by First-Lieutenant Hersing. The *Pathfinder* carried a complement of 268 officers and men, and there was considerable loss of life.

A little more than a fortnight later occurred an event which seemed for a moment to justify the high hopes which the German people had been taught to entertain as to the possibilities of a "war of attrition." At 6.30 A.M. on September 22, the armoured cruisers *Aboukir*, *Hogue*, and *Cressy*, on patrol duty in the North Sea, had just separated to take up their day stations, three miles apart, when the *Aboukir* "was seen to reel violently, and then settle down with a list to port." Her consorts obeyed the natural impulse to close in upon her and attempt to save life. They were within about a quarter of a mile of her, the *Hogue* on the starboard bow and the *Cressy* on the other side, when two tremendous crashes were heard in close succession, and the *Hogue* "leapt up like a rowelled horse and quivered all over, just as a steel spring will quiver when firmly held at one end and sharply struck at the other." The *Cressy*, meanwhile, had opened fire on the insidious assailant, but without effect; for a few minutes later she herself was struck amidships by two torpedoes, and sank almost immediately. Two Dutch ships and a Lowestoft trawler did good work in helping to rescue 60 officers and 777 men; but an equal number of officers and some 1,400 men were drowned. This loss of life was by far the most serious feature of the incident. The cruisers themselves, which were sister ships

of 12,000 tons apiece, had been built about the beginning of the century, and were rapidly becoming obsolete.

The jubilation in Germany was naturally great, and Otto Weddigen, the commander who had brought off this skilful and highly successful exploit, was for some time a national hero of the first rank. He was rewarded not only with the Iron Cross, but with the order "*Pour le Mérite*." It is pleasant to add that his distinguished ability was not his only merit. He afterwards gained a high reputation for his humane treatment of the crews of merchant ships, who nicknamed him "the polite pirate." His boat, the U 29, was sunk in the spring of 1915.

Could such exploits have been repeated in any number, there might have been some hope of achieving the aim of German strategy, and so reducing the naval strength of Britain as to enable Germany to encounter her on the high seas with a fair chance of success. Unfortunately for Von Tirpitz's calculations, Weddigen's swoop has remained unique. More important ships have, indeed, fallen victims to the submarine, but only at long intervals; and there has been no repetition of "three birds falling to one gun." That result, indeed, was attained in the present instance only because the *Hogue* and *Cressy* subordinated sound tactics to humanity, and thought more of saving life than of assur-

ing their own safety. The Admiralty issued orders to prevent the repetition of this generous error, stating that the rule which obtains in actual battle must be extended to such occasions—namely, that each unit must look after itself.

On October 15, 1914, a small and obsolete cruiser, the *Hawke*, was torpedoed in the North Sea, and sank in ten minutes, about 70 of the officers and crew being saved. The *Hawke* had a displacement of 7,350 tons, and was built in 1889. This completes the record of U-boat successes for 1914, so far as attacks on the British Navy are concerned.

The roll of legitimate successes for 1915 is naturally much longer. It begins with the sinking in the Channel, on January 1, of the *Formidable*, a battleship of 15,000 tons, built in 1901. The night was stormy, the sea ran high, and, being struck by two torpedoes, she settled down very rapidly. Some boats were launched, however, and 201 officers and men were saved out of a complement of between 700 and 800. The occupants of one boat were rescued with great bravery and skill by a Brixham smack, the *Provident*, W. Pillar, master. Lord Crewe said in the House of Lords on January 7: "I should like to tell the House that, after the *Formidable* was struck, her captain signalled to another ship that she was not to stand by, but to keep off,

as he believed that there was a submarine in the neighbourhood."

On March 11, an auxiliary cruiser (armed merchantman), the *Bayano*, was sunk at the entrance to the Firth of Clyde. She went down in three minutes, and only 30 lives were saved out of about 200.

Exactly a month later the transport *Wayfarer* was torpedoed, but did not sink, and was beached at Queenstown.

On May 1 the destroyer *Recruit* (385 tons) was sunk in the North Sea, 4 officers and 21 men being saved and 39 lost.

Perhaps the most important of all the U-boat exploits occurred on May 26 and 27, when the battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic* were sunk off Gallipoli. The *Triumph* was a ship of 11,800 tons, built in 1904; the *Majestic*, built in 1895, displaced 14,900 tons. The ships were not of great value, the *Majestic* especially being at the very end of her period of service; and in each case the loss of life was small. Nevertheless, it may fairly be said that the appearance of U-boats on the scene marked the turning-point of the Gallipoli expedition. They very seriously reduced its chances of success; and this may be reckoned the most important strategic result they have achieved, apart, of course, from their conspicuous triumph in bringing America into the war.

On June 10 two torpedo-boats or "coastal destroyers," the *Greenfly* and the *Mayfly*, of 215 tons apiece, were sunk in the North Sea. Thirty-one lives were saved and between 20 and 30 lost.

Ten days later the *Roxburgh*, a 10,000 ton cruiser, was struck by a torpedo in the North Sea, but was not seriously damaged.

On June 30 the destroyer *Lightning* (275 tons) was torpedoed. She was brought into harbour, but 14 of her crew were missing.

On August 8 the auxiliary cruiser *India* was torpedoed off Bodö, in Norwegian territorial waters. Twenty-two officers and 120 men were saved, but 10 officers and 150 men lost their lives.

In the Ægean on August 14 a very serious disaster occurred. The *Royal Edward*, transport (11,117 tons), was sent to the bottom, and carried with her about 1,000 men, 600 being saved.

In the same waters, on September 2, the transport *Southland* was torpedoed, but reached Mudros under her own steam. The explosion, however, led to the loss of about 30 lives.

The transport *Ramazan* was sunk by shell fire on September 19, off the island of Antikythera. There were 385 Indian troops on board, of whom 75 were saved.

In October the transport *Marquette* was sunk

in the Ægean; and in the Mediterranean, on November 3, the transport *Mercian* was shelled but not sunk. There was, however, a casualty list of nearly 100 killed and wounded.

On November 5, the *Tara*, an "armed boarding steamer," was attacked by two U-boats and sunk in the Bay of Sollum, on the frontier between Egypt and Tripoli. Ten men of the crew were missing, having fallen into the hands of the Senussya tribe (or sect) of Arabs, from whom they were rescued, with other captives, in the following March. At the same place (apparently on the following day) the *Prince Abbas* (300 tons) and the *Abdul Moneim* (450 tons) were sunk. They were described by the Germans as "Anglo-Egyptian gunboats," but by the British as small custom cruisers of no fighting value.

In the following year, 1916, the list of legitimate U-boat achievements is only about half as long, and includes only one really notable incident. On August 19 it was reported that the German High Seas Fleet had put to sea, and two light cruisers which set forth in search of it were torpedoed. They were the *Nottingham*, of 5,400 tons, built in 1914, and the *Falmouth*, of 5,250 tons, built in 1911. The remaining losses were as follows:

The *Primula*, mine-sweeper, sunk on March 1, in the Eastern Mediterranean, 3 lives lost.

The *Lassoo*, destroyer, torpedoed (or mined) on April 13, off the Dutch coast, 6 lives lost.

The *Clacton*, mine-sweeper, sunk on August 3, in the Levant, 6 lives lost.

The *Duke of Albany*, armed boarding steamer, sunk on August 24, in the North Sea, 24 lives lost.

The *Zaida*, armed yacht, sunk in the Gulf of Alexandretta. Date uncertain; 10 lives lost.

The *Franconia*, engaged in transport duty, but carrying no troops at the time, sunk on October 4, 12 lives lost.

The *Genista*, mine-sweeper, sunk. (Reported in *Times*, October 27.)

The *Russian*, an empty transport, sunk. (Reported in *Times*, December 19.)

To this list might be added a certain number of successful attacks by German or Austrian submarines upon French, Italian, or Russian naval units, but the roll is comparatively short.

It appears, then, that as an instrument of "attrition," and even as a means of harassing maritime lines of communication, the submarine was far indeed from fulfilling German—or even English—expectation. In two years and a half it reckoned among its victims no "capital ships," and, so far as the British Navy was concerned, only eight vessels of any considerable importance—the *Aboukir*, *Hogue*, *Cressy*, *Formidable*, *Triumph*, *Majestic*, *Nottingham*, *Falmouth*.

It played, as we have seen, a conspicuous—perhaps a determining—part in defeating the Allied attack upon Gallipoli; but, on the other hand, we find scarcely any trace of the intervention of submarines in the Battle of Jutland. In their action against transports the U-boats had some success—not at the vital point, namely, the English Channel, but in the Mediterranean. When we consider, however, how many millions of troops have been conveyed by sea for distances aggregating hundreds of thousands of miles, we realise that the percentage of losses due to submarine action has been absolutely infinitesimal. It is true, no doubt, that the military value of the submarine is not to be measured by the positive losses it inflicts, but rather by a factor impossible to estimate with any certainty—its deterrent effect upon potential enemy action. Even in this respect, however, the mine is probably the more formidable weapon of the two. We may say safely that, taking it all round, the submarine, as a fighting instrument, has proved a disappointment.

It was on realising its inability to contribute on any decisive scale to the defeat of the Allied Navies that the German Government determined to use it as an instrument of sheer destruction, and to conduct a reckless and ruthless campaign against Allied, and ultimately against neutral, commerce.

II

FIRST ATTACKS UPON MERCHANT SHIPS

IT took Germany some six months to make up her mind to the systematic employment of her U-boats as commerce-destroyers. During those six months (August, 1914—January, 1915, inclusive) a good deal of harm was done to Allied shipping by a few warships which had been at large at the outbreak of hostilities, notably by the *Emden* in the Indian Ocean. The proceedings of these ships were, if not incontestably legal, at least plausibly defensible under international law. It is true that they constantly sank their prizes instead of taking them into port to have their status determined by a Prize Court; but it is generally admitted that the destruction of a prize is permissible when circumstances render it dangerous or impracticable to bring it into harbour; and as practically all Germany's oversea harbours had been seized very early in the war, it is manifest that there was neither port nor Prize Court within the raiders' reach. The right to sink

captured ships is limited by the imperative condition that the captor "must make due provision for the safety of passengers and crew, and for the preservation of the ship's papers"; and this condition the raiders honourably observed. Captain Müller, of the *Emden*, collected the crews and passengers of a number of prizes on board a single vessel, which he then set free.

A few isolated instances of submarine attacks on merchant shipping occurred in this period, but only one was marked by gross inhumanity.

The first commercial victim was the steamship *Glitra*, from Grangemouth to Stavanger, which was stopped by a U-boat about noon on October 20, 1914, nine miles S.W. of Skudesnæs. A boat's crew of 5 men boarded the steamer, and when the captain lowered the British flag the German officer tore it up and trampled upon it. The "Gott strafe England" craze was then, it will be remembered, at its height. The crew were allowed ten minutes to take to their boats, and then the ship was sunk, it is believed by opening the bottom valves. The *Hamburger Nachrichten* described this exploit as "a brisk Viking-stroke."

On November 23 the *Malachite* was held up in Havre roadstead, the crew were allowed ten minutes to leave the ship, and it was then sunk

by shell fire. Three days later (November 26) the *Primo* was sunk off Cape Antifer. In neither of these cases was the crew exposed to any serious danger.

Very different was the case of the *Amiral Ganteaume*. This passenger ship, bound from Calais to Havre, with 2,500 refugees on board, was wantonly torpedoed, without a moment's warning, twelve miles from Cape Grisnez. The Channel passenger steamer *Queen* ranged up alongside of the stricken ship, and "with great resourcefulness and daring" took off most of the passengers. About 50, however, lost their lives. That the disaster was not due to a mine was proved by the discovery of a fragment of a torpedo in the hull of the ship, which did not ultimately sink. This was the first of the German maritime outrages, and it was no fault of the perpetrators that it was not also the worst. Had the torpedo taken full effect, the death-roll would have been longer than that of the *Lusitania*. The attack was without a shadow of excuse. What military purpose could be served by sinking a passenger ship bound from one French port to another, and manifestly (for the incident took place in broad daylight) crowded with civilians? Whoever was responsible for the attack, which took place on October 26, was clearly animated by the sheer lust of murder which is awakened in so many Germans

by the sight of defenceless enemies. The sailor who commanded the unknown U-boat was a true brother-in-arms of the soldiers who, a few weeks earlier, had marched burning and massacring through Belgium.

On January 22, 1915, the steamship *Durward* was stopped by a U-boat about thirteen miles from the lightship *Maas*. The crew was ordered to take to the boats, no time being allowed for the removal of their private belongings. The submarine then towed the boats to a certain distance, ordered them to wait there while it sank the ship, and then towed them onwards in the direction of the lightship. A week later (January 30) two ships, the *Ben Cruachan* and the *Linda Blanche*, were sunk, in both cases with reasonable consideration for the safety of the crews. The men of the *Ben Cruachan* were given ten minutes to leave the ship, the German officer, who spoke "perfect English," bidding them "get as many of their belongings together as they could." The ship was sunk by bombs. In the case of the *Linda Blanche*, the men on board the submarine "handed cigars and cigarettes to the crew" as they took to their boats. Deliberate inhumanity had not yet developed into a system, though the *Kölnische Zeitung*, about the middle of the month, had published an article declaring that "in future German submarines and aircraft would wage war against British

mercantile vessels without troubling themselves in any way about the fate of the crews." This was evidently an inspired forecast, and it was to be promptly and amply justified by events.

III

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FIRST "BLOCKADE"

A FEW days before Christmas, 1914, Grand Admiral von Tirpitz granted an interview to the representative of the United Press of America, which very clearly indicated that Germany was already planning a submarine "blockade" of the British Islands. "America," he said, "has not raised her voice in protest, and has done little or nothing against the closing of the North Sea to neutral shipping by England. What would America say if Germany should declare a submarine war against all enemy trading vessels?" By the "closing of the North Sea" he meant the measure to which Britain had been driven by the German practice of indiscriminate mine-sowing under neutral flags. In the interests of neutral as well as British shipping, the Government had announced on November 3, not that the North Sea was "closed," but that a safe passage through it would be kept open for all neutral ships en-

tering and leaving it by way of the Straits of Dover. It was only the northern passage between the Hebrides and the Faroe Islands that was closed, in the sense that vessels using it must do so at their peril.

On January 26, 1915, it was announced that the German Federal Council had decided to take under its control all the stocks of corn and flour in the country, on and from February 1. It was at once anticipated that this measure would cause the British Government to regard all cargoes of foodstuffs destined for Germany as consigned to the German Government, and therefore contraband of war. The Germans afterwards tried to represent their attempted blockade as a measure of retaliation against this action of the British Government; but, to say nothing of the fact that the blockade had been threatened by Von Tirpitz six weeks earlier, it was definitely announced before the British Government had taken any step whatever. The notification of the intended blockade was issued in Berlin on February 4; not until the following day did the British Foreign Office announce that the Government was considering what steps it should take in view of the German commandeering of foodstuffs.

It so happened that, on January 23, a steamship named the *Wilhelmina* had cleared from New York for Hamburg, conveying a cargo of

food shipped by an American firm, and consigned to an American citizen in Germany. The Foreign Office note of February 5 ran as follows: "If the destination and cargo of the *Wilhelmina* are as supposed, the cargo will, if the vessel is intercepted, be submitted to a Prize Court in order that the new situation created by the German decree may be examined, and a decision reached upon it after full consideration." This course was, in fact, pursued, and it was determined that the action of the German Government in taking foodstuffs under its exclusive control justified the Allies in treating all provisions consigned to Germany as contraband of war. But it is clearly absurd to represent as a result of this British measure a U-boat campaign which had been formally announced while the British Government was still considering its course of action, and before it had issued any statement whatever on the subject.

The German proclamation ran thus:

The waters round Great Britain and Ireland, including the English Channel, are hereby proclaimed a war region.

On and after February 18th every enemy merchant vessel found in this region will be destroyed, without its always being possible to warn the crews or passengers of the dangers threatening.

Neutral ships will also incur danger in the war region, where, in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered by the British Government, and incidents inevitable in sea warfare, attacks intended for hostile ships may affect neutral ships also.

The Pirate's Progress

The sea passage to the north of the Shetland Islands and the eastern region of the North Sea in a zone of at least 30 miles along the Netherlands coast, are not menaced by any danger.

(Signed) Berlin, February 4th,

VON POHL,

Chief of Marine Staff.

It will be seen that the warfare here threatened differs from the "unlimited" warfare of two years later in the position assigned to neutral shipping. Neutrals are warned that they had better avoid the "war region," but it is indicated that if they are attacked it will only be by mistake, and that, for these mistakes, they will have to blame the nefarious policy of the British Government with regard to the use of neutral flags.

There was not a single point at which this proclamation did not fly in the face of international law as stated by all jurists and as interpreted by all courts.

The use of a neutral flag by a vessel attempting to elude capture has always been held legitimate. Attacking under false colours is rightly prohibited—but that is a totally different matter.

The warship which doubts the genuineness of the flag displayed by a merchantman can put the matter to the test by exercising its unquestioned right of "visit and search." Thus the mistakes with which neutrals were threatened were mistakes which had no right to happen.

As for the avowed intention of attacking enemy ships without warning (for nothing else was implied in the impudent phrase "without its being always possible to warn," etc.), it stood in flagrant contravention of every accepted principle and of all civilised practice. We have already seen, in discussing the case of the *Emden* and other raiders, that the sinking of prizes had hitherto been regarded as a measure to be resorted to only in the most exceptional circumstances. Here are some pronouncements of German authorities on the point:

GESSNER: As a general rule, the captor may not scuttle or otherwise destroy the prize he has taken in the open sea. He may do so, however, on his own responsibility, in circumstances of *force majeure*.

HEFFTER: The destruction of an enemy prize is not justifiable except in case of extreme necessity.

BLUNTSCHLI: As a rule, enemy prizes must be taken into the captor's port for adjudication. Destruction is permissible only in case of absolute necessity. *The blockade of the captor's port does not in itself constitute a case of absolute necessity.**

Germany now claimed the right to make a universal rule of what had hitherto been sanctioned only as a rare exception, arguing that the

* See Sir Frederick Smith: *Destruction of Merchant Ships*, pp. 28, 29.

submarine had created a new situation which had not been anticipated at the time when international law took shape. That was, it is true, an arguable point, and it was natural that Germany should decline to be bound by so strict a reading of existing regulations as would have made her U-boats entirely powerless as a weapon against the commerce of her enemies. But she not only resolved to sink every enemy ship that came in her way; she made up her mind to do so without that preliminary visit and search which had hitherto been held indispensable, and especially without taking those measures for the security of non-combatant crews and passengers which had been regarded as the most imperative of obligations. Here, she could allege no excuse in the nature of *force majeure*. It was perfectly possible for her to act humanely, as one or two of her commanders proved. By doing so she might to some extent have reduced the effectiveness of her campaign of havoc; but she would have had her reward in retaining some shred of the respect of the civilised world. Her disregard of every consideration of humanity was exactly on a level with her frequent use, in Belgium and Northern France, of civilian screens to mask an infantry advance.* Such practices are defensible only on the theory that Germany

* Indignantly disclaimed by Von Moltke, but established by irrefutable evidence.

must forgo no possible advantage, of however dastardly a nature—the theory, indeed, which her War-Book indicates almost without disguise, and on which she has consistently acted in every domain of warlike activity. But in her U-boat campaign, as in her treatment of Belgium, she has exceeded even the brutality which her theory demands. We shall have to record many deeds of a callous cruelty from which no appreciable advantage was to be reaped—deeds which betray in their perpetrators a positive delight in murder for its own sake.

IV

THE "ASTURIAS" TO THE "FALABA"

FEBRUARY, 1915, opened with an attempt to torpedo the hospital-ship *Asturias*, which fortunately failed. We shall have to speak more at length of this incident when the time comes to chronicle the deliberate and systematic war upon hospital-ships. For the present it remained an isolated and motiveless crime, which may be bracketed with the attack on the *Amiral Ganteaume*, as showing the reckless ferocity which was beginning to prevail among the U-boat commanders.

The "blockade," as we have seen, was proclaimed on February 4, but a fortnight's grace was allowed to neutrals to clear out of the "war region," and leave the British to their fate. As a matter of fact, nothing of great importance occurred during this fortnight.

On February 19, the day after the expiry of the period of grace, the Norwegian oil-steamer *Belridge* was torpedoed off Beachy Head, but managed to reach port. On the following day

there were two victims: the *Cambank* was torpedoed without warning, while the crew of the *Downshire* were allowed five minutes to take to their boats. On the 23rd the *Oakly*, and on the 24th the *Deptford*, were torpedoed without warning. The 24th, too, witnessed the sinking of the *Harpalion*. The entire absence of warning is apparent from the account of the attack given by the second officer, Mr. Harper: "We had just sat down to tea, and the chief engineer was saying grace. He had just uttered the words, 'For what we are about to receive may the Lord make us truly thankful,' when there came an awful crash. I never saw such a smash as it caused." There is a certain grim humour in the situation, which, however, the sailors do not appear to have appreciated.

Mr. Asquith stated in the House of Commons on March 1 that the lawless submarine war was about to be met by a tightening of the stranglehold upon Germany; and an Order-in-Council of March 11 made the definite announcement in the following terms:

His Majesty has decided to adopt further measures in order to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, though such measures will be enforced without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or non-combatant life, and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity.

Two days earlier (March 9) three ships, the *Tangistan*, *Blackwood*, and *Princess Victoria*, had been torpedoed off Scarborough, Hastings, and Liverpool respectively. In no case was any warning given, and of the crew of the *Tangistan*—38 in number—only one was saved.

On March 11 (the date of the Order-in-Council) Commander Otto Weddigen makes his last appearance on the scene. From the small U 9 with which he sank the three cruisers, he had been transferred to a much more powerful craft, the U 29. On this day, off the Casquet rocks, he sank the steamer *Aden-wen*, but gave the crew ten minutes to take to their boats, observing, "We wish no lives to be lost." He also provided a dry suit for a sailor who had fallen into the water, thus acting up to the nickname which he had earned of "the polite pirate." He had, unfortunately, only a few days more of life before him. On March 26 the Admiralty announced that U 29 had been sunk. "There seems to be no doubt," said *The Times*, "that Captain Weddigen's career has now come to an end, with that of his new boat. Our satisfaction at the occurrence is mingled with some regret at the death of a man who, so far as is known, behaved bravely and skilfully, and where it was possible displayed to his victims the humanity expected of seamen, but which has not been characteristic of all his brother officers."

This is almost the last good word that has to be, or can be, said for German conduct at sea. It is true that on March 13, a few days before Weddigen lost his life, some humanity had been shown in the sinking of the collier *Hartdale*. The boats got off, but the captain, chief officer, steward, and a boy remained on board until the ship was awash. The boy was unfortunately drowned, but the three men were taken on board the submarine and were well treated. Ultimately, they were transferred to the Swedish steamship *Heimdal*, which had taken the boats in tow. It is also related that in the course of the summer, when attacks upon fishing boats were the order of the day, and when many fishermen were brutally done to death without being given a chance for their lives, a welcome exception to the general practice occurred when the commander of one submarine allowed the crew of a trawler he attacked to get away in their boat. "We are not Prussians," he declared to the skipper; "it is only the Prussians who would let you drown." At sea as on land, unfortunately, the Prussians were enormously in the majority.

The *Atlanta* was sunk on March 14, and the *Fingal* on the 15th. In the latter case there was a death-roll of six, including the chief mate and the stewardess, who is said to have been the first woman victim of the submarine war. On

March 25 the Dutch steamship *Medea* was deliberately sunk by gunfire off Beachy Head. The crew, however, were all saved. Two days later the *Aguila* was sunk by the same method. The crew were nominally given four minutes to leave the ship, but the submarine opened fire while the boats were being launched, killing the chief engineer, the boatswain, and a donkeyman, and wounding the third engineer and several seamen. A member of the crew said that one boat contained ten men, the stewardess, and one woman passenger. As it was being launched the passenger cried out, "I'm shot!" and fell over the edge of the gunwale next to the ship's side. The next moment heavy seas capsized the boat, and neither passenger nor stewardess was ever seen again. The Germans, however, were not entirely callous, for they told the trawler *Ottilie* where the boats had been left, and enabled her to find them. On the same day, March 27, the steamer *Vosges* was sunk by shell fire after a two hours' chase, the chief engineer being killed.

The following day, Sunday, March 28, witnessed the first U-boat atrocity on a grand scale. The Elder-Dempster liner *Falaba*, Liverpool to South Africa, was just passing out of St. George's Channel when she was pursued by a submarine. Seeing that escape was hopeless, the captain stopped. "There is some doubt," says *The*

Times, "about the exact number of minutes' grace accorded by the German commander, but it is agreed that well within ten minutes the *Falaba* was torpedoed at 100 yards range, when the enemy could not fail to see that the deck was still crowded and the first boat was actually half-way down the davits. The torpedo struck near the engine-room, and the *Falaba* sank rapidly. The callousness of the attack was aggravated by the conduct of the Germans when their victims were struggling in the water. As they raised their arms, reaching out for life-buoys or scraps of wreckage, the Germans looked on and laughed, and answered their cries for help with jeers. This charge of inhumanity is not founded on any isolated allegation. It is the definite testimony of some half-dozen survivors." The captain was not drowned, but died of exposure.

Among the victims—111 in number—was an American citizen, Mr. Leon Chester Thrasher. This naturally intensified the indignation felt in America, and it was already foreseen in many quarters that if Germany persisted in so reckless a disregard of the rights not only of non-combatants, but of neutrals, the traditional aloofness of America could not be permanently maintained. "The sinking of the *Falaba*," said the *New York Times*, "is perhaps the most shocking crime of the war." Though less wanton and

purposeless than the attack on the *Amiral Ganteaume*, it was equally cruel in intention and more disastrous in effect. It proved beyond all question that the spirit of modern Germany was as ruthlessly inhuman at sea as on land; but the world had not long to wait for still more startling evidence to the same effect.

V

THE "LUSITANIA"

HITHERTO we have followed with some minuteness the record of German submarine activities, in order to trace the gradual decline from legitimate and honourable warfare to indiscriminate maritime murder. Henceforth, on the other hand, anything like a complete "Catalogue of the Ships" would be a mere weariness of the spirit, even were it possible. We must be content to register some of the more salient incidents of the campaign of massacre.

As to the principles inspiring it there is no longer any doubt. Six months after the outbreak of the war Germany has finally realised that her scheme of world-conquest has miscarried, and that she is standing on the defensive. The mass of her people, and her soldiers and sailors not the least, have from the outset taken quite seriously the ten-thousand-times repeated phrase "Dieser uns aufgezwungene Krieg" ("This war which has been forced upon

us"). On the part of her rulers it had at first been a conscious and purposeful lie—a deliberate move in the war gambit invented by Bismarck, who openly confessed that the people would not throw themselves with sufficient ardour into a war in which they knew themselves to be the aggressors. But even the rulers have by this time repeated the formula so often that they have perhaps come to believe in it; and rulers and people are at one in holding that, when Germany is on the defensive, she is absolved from all the traditional decencies of civilised warfare, and not only entitled, but in duty bound, to ignore every obligation of humanity that conflicts in the slightest degree with her immediate interest and convenience. Only thus can we account for the fact that such events as the sinking of the *Falaba*, to say nothing of the greater crimes to follow, seem to have elicited scarcely a word of protest in Germany. Much light is thrown upon the German frame of mind by a little incident which occurred just at the time we have now reached.

On April 1, 1915, three trawlers, the *Jason*, *Gloxinia*, and *Nellie*, were sunk by the U 10. The crew of the *Jason* were taken on board the submarine and were well treated. The commander expressed regret, but said, "We have orders to sink everything. It is war, *and you started it.*" That is the whole German case.

It is built upon the distinction which undoubtedly exists between the rights of the aggressor and the rights of his victim. If a highway robber were to attack me on a lonely road, I should not consider myself bound, in repelling him, to adhere to the delicacies of the duello, or even to the principles of fair-play. The Germans were right in insisting upon this ethical distinction—the weak point of their case lay in the fact that they, and not the Allies, were the highway robbers. It may also be mentioned that even the victim of an assault is scarcely justified in massacring the wife and children of his assailant.

The most notable feature of April, 1915, was the harrying of the British fishing fleet. On April 19 the Admiralty announced:

To-day a German submarine sank by a torpedo the trawler *Vanilla*.

The trawler *Fermo* endeavoured to rescue the crew, but she was fired at and driven off. All hands on the *Vanilla* were lost.

This killing of fisher-folk for no military purpose should not escape attention. It is the second murder of this character committed within a week.

The *Fermo* was chased for four hours and barely escaped. Three days later the trawler *St. Lawrence* was shelled and sunk. Most of

the crew escaped, but the submarine prevented the rescue of two men who had been left on board.

Meanwhile, neutrals were learning the baselessness of the pretence in the German manifesto that what they had to fear in the war zone were only inevitable errors and accidents. Neutral ships were being destroyed with the greatest deliberation. On March 31 the Norwegian barque *Nor* was burnt because her cargo of timber rendered her practically unsinkable. On April 22, two Norwegian sailing ships, the *Oscar* and the *Eva*, were deliberately sunk by gunfire; and the Norwegians suffered other losses. In the first half of April two Dutch steamers, the *Katwyk* and the *Schieland*, were torpedoed and sunk. On May 1 the American tank steamer *Gulflight*, from Port Arthur (Texas) to Rouen, was torpedoed without warning off the Scilly Islands. The captain died of heart failure, and the wireless operator and a Spanish seaman were drowned. This event caused great excitement in the United States; yet the feeling it aroused was but a ripple compared with the tidal wave of horror and indignation which swept over not only America, but all countries in which war madness had not stifled human feeling, at the news which just a week later was flashed round the world.

In the last week of April many of the leading

papers of the United States contained the following advertisement:

Travellers intending to embark for an Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her Allies and Great Britain and her Allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that in accordance with the formal notice given by the Imperial German Government vessels flying the flag of Great Britain or any of her Allies are liable to destruction in those waters; and that travellers sailing in the war zone in ships of Great Britain or her Allies do so at their own risk.

Imperial German Embassy, Washington.

April 22.

It was an unheard-of proceeding for the Embassy of a belligerent Power thus to address a neutral nation through the public Press; but the world was growing accustomed to unheard-of proceedings on Germany's part, and nobody paid any attention to this one. Meanwhile, well-known people who had booked passages on the *Lusitania*, due to sail from New York on May 1, were receiving anonymous or pseudonymous telegrams warning them that the ship was doomed. It does not appear, however, that a single passage was cancelled. The German threats were considered to be mere bluff, no one believing possible such an outrage upon the law of nations

and the most elementary principles of humanity as an attack upon an unarmed liner, carrying many hundreds of non-combatants and many scores of neutrals.

The actual numbers were—

Saloon passengers	292
Second-class passengers	602
Third-class passengers	361
Crew	651
Total	1,906

All went well until, on the morning of Friday, May 7, the Irish coast was sighted. The day was very fine, the sea smooth. In order "to reach the bar at Liverpool at a time when he could proceed up the river without stopping to pick up a pilot," Captain Turner reduced the speed to 18 knots. Fastnet was passed about eleven o'clock. At two, the ship was fifteen miles south of the Old Head of Kinsale. At 2.15, without a moment's warning, and, indeed, before any one knew that there was a submarine in the neighbourhood, she was struck in the region of the engine-room, either by a single torpedo or by two in close succession. The breaking of the main steam-pipe paralysed the engines, so that it was impossible to stop her; and this, along with the strong list to starboard which the ship immediately took, made it very

difficult to get the boats safely launched. She had still perceptible way on her when she sank at 2.36, the time when Captain Turner's watch stopped. Ten or twelve boats and rafts in all got clear of the ship, and some survivors (the captain among them) were picked up in the water by the rescue ships which reached the scene two or three hours later. The total number saved is believed to have been 772, so that the death-roll may be set down at 1,134. Out of 218 American passengers, 79 survived.

It would be useless to attempt any description of the final scene. Since the sinking of the *Titanic*, just three years earlier, such tragedies have been only too familiar to the imagination. But the horror was heightened in the case of the *Lusitania* by the fact that she did not, like the *Titanic*, fall a victim to an incalculable caprice of destiny, but to the deliberate wickedness of human beings, dehumanised by a diabolical code of military ethics. "There was no screaming at the last," says one account, "only a long, wailing, mournful, despairing, beseeching cry." When Germany is, in the fullness of time, restored to sanity, that wail will surely haunt her dreams for many a day.

At the moment, the news was received with exultation in the Fatherland. A medal was struck to celebrate the event, and subscriptions were got up to testify the national gratitude to

the heroic crew of the U-boat. The *Kölnische Zeitung* said:

The news will be received by the German people with unanimous satisfaction, since it proves to England and the whole world that Germany is quite in earnest in regard to her submarine warfare.

The *Kölnische Volkszeitung* said:

With joyful pride we contemplate this latest deed of our Navy, and it will not be the last.

Austria, represented by the *Neue Freie Presse*, joined in the chorus of jubilation. But perhaps the most remarkable utterance called forth by the event was that of a clergyman, Pastor D. Baumgarten, who said, in the course of an address on the Sermon on the Mount:

Whoever cannot prevail upon himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the *Lusitania*—whoever cannot conquer his sense of the gigantic cruelty (ungeheure Grausamkeit) to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims . . . and give himself up to honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power—him we judge to be no true German.

It would seem that the people rose nobly to this test, and that there were few indeed who did

not approve themselves true Germans by Pastor Baumgarten's standard.

Looking back from the vantage ground of two-and-a-half years, we may say that our sense of the hideousness of the crime is almost overshadowed by our perception of its colossal stupidity. It is certain that every man, woman, and child done to death that day has risen again in the shape of a thousand fighting-men—perhaps two or three thousand—supplied in profusion with all the appurtenances of war, and bent on the elimination from human affairs of the spirit which sank the *Lusitania*. "She was carrying," say the Germans, "5,400 cases of ammunition." If that was so, the German Navy had every right, on proving their case by visit and search, to claim her condemnation in a Prize Court. It may even be conceded at a pinch that, as her captors could scarcely take her to Bremen or Wilhelmshaven, they might have been justified in sinking her, after providing for the safety of passengers. "But," it may be replied, "she was one of the fastest ships afloat. If she had chosen to show her heels, the U-boat could never have overhauled her." That means, of course, that the U-boat, like every other weapon of war, has its limitations. It cannot do everything that Germany would desire; but that is a poor reason for supplementing its legitimate powers by a resort to cold-blooded mur-

der. If the U-boat had acted legally, and the ship had put herself technically in the wrong, there might have been nice questions of casuistry as to the course which the captors, or would-be captors, were entitled to pursue. As it was, no question of casuistry arose. The verdict of international law goes as clearly against the aggressors as the verdict of humanity, and Germany will long have cause to rue the hour when the engine was launched that sank "the stately ship so beautiful," and strewed the summer sea with the corpses of innocent women and children.

The legal aspect of the case was cogently summed up in the following passages from the Note addressed by President Wilson to the German Government:

The Government of the United States has been apprised that the German Imperial Government considered themselves to be obliged by the extraordinary circumstances of the present war, and the measures adopted by their adversaries in seeking to cut Germany off from all commerce, to adopt measures of retaliation which go much beyond the ordinary methods of warfare at sea, in the proclamation of a war zone from which they warned neutral ships to keep away. This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it cannot admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree in abbreviation of

the rights of American shipmasters or American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers in merchant ships of belligerent nationality, and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, whether intentional or incidental.

It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights, but assumes on the contrary that the Imperial Government accept as a matter of course the rule that the lives of non-combatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightly be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of unarmed merchantmen, and recognise also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband under a neutral flag.

Many people felt at the time, in America no less than in the Allied countries, that the occasion was not one that could be met by the issue of diplomatic notes, however stern; but events have conclusively shown that it was wisdom and not pusillanimity that dictated President Wilson's policy of patience, even to the eleventh hour.

VI

THE "ARMENIAN" TO THE "PERSIA"

DAY by day the sinkings went on. From a statement issued by the Admiralty on June 21, 1915, it appeared that from the beginning of the "blockade" up to that date, 75 ships had been destroyed by submarines and 72 fishing vessels. On July 29, Mr. Bonar Law stated in Parliament that, up to July 27, approximately 1,550 persons had been killed as a result of U-boat attacks upon British merchant ships, and 22 as a result of attacks upon neutrals. As the *Lusitania* massacre accounted for 1,134 lives out of the 1,550, it would appear that the victims in minor incidents numbered 416. Be it remembered that, had respect been paid either to the law of nations or to ordinary humanity, almost all of these lives would have been saved.

On the evening of June 28, between 6 and 7 o'clock, the Leyland liner *Armenian*, from Newport News to Avonmouth, was off Trevose Head, when a submarine was sighted at a dis-

tance of about four miles. It fired two shots across the liner's bows, as a signal to stop. The rest may be told in the words of Captain Trickery:

Did I stop! No fear! I put my stern to him and ran for it. The boats had been slung out, and I ordered the crew to get into them, or stand by in case of emergency. We were shelled continuously, and the shrapnel killed several of the crew, and cut away the falls of some of the lifeboats, throwing the men into the sea. It was a desperate chase, and I had to realise that the enemy was gaining on me. But we did not intend to give in without a struggle. First my steering-gear was knocked out of order by a shell, then another fell in the engine-room, and a third carried the Marconi house away. Another shell disabled the men in the stoke-hold, preventing me from getting steam.

The ship was then on fire in three places, and I decided to surrender. We had resisted the enemy for an hour, and 12 or 13 men were lying dead on the deck. Some of the lifeboats were smashed, but there were quite enough left for the crew, which had been reduced through shell-fire by 29. It was 7.40 P.M. when we surrendered, and at 7 minutes past 8 the *Armenian* went down, two torpedoes being fired before she sank. The submarine commander showed us every civility, after we had given in, and he picked up some of our crew who, owing to the damage to

lifeboats, had fallen into the water. Most of the crew who perished were Americans.

The vessel was carrying 1,414 mules, and about 20 of the men who lost their lives were American muleteers, some of them negroes. In this case the submarine was acting within the letter of the law, since the *Armenian* had not obeyed the signal to stop; but as it had been proved in many cases that surrender was no guarantee against outrage, the plain fact was that Germany had annulled the law, and could not in equity plead its non-observance as an excuse for slaughter.

Barely a week later another merchant steamer set a U-boat at defiance, and succeeded in escaping, though not without tragic losses, more than half its crew being killed or wounded. The *Anglo-Californian*, of London, was off the Irish coast on the morning of July 4 when she sighted a submarine which at once began firing at the wireless apparatus. What followed is thus narrated by one of the survivors:

The submarine kept circling about the ship, endeavouring to get into position to discharge a torpedo, but was baffled by the skill of the captain, who remained on the bridge, smiling at the enemy as they shelled the vessel. . . . They were so close to the *Anglo-Californian* that they used their rifles, and at last serious injury was inflicted on the ship.

For four hours the shelling continued. Several of the crew were killed, and many more seriously injured. The captain was blown off the bridge with terrible wounds on his head, and an arm and a leg completely severed. Before his death he had given orders for the boats to be launched. This the crew tried to do, but they had great difficulty, as the ropes got entangled. While they were at work several more were killed. Ultimately four boats were launched, into which several men got and rowed about until picked up by vessels which came to their assistance. At 11.30 the *Anglo-Californian* succeeded in shaking off the submarine, and was able to steam into Queenstown.

Captain Parslow's son, who was second mate of the vessel, followed his father's courageous example. He was by his father's side when he was killed. Young Parslow was knocked down by the violence of the shock, but quickly got on his feet again and seized the wheel. He had scarcely done so when another shell burst alongside him and shattered one of the spokes of the wheel, but he remained at his post until assistance arrived. His gallant conduct undoubtedly saved the ship from destruction.

This is a tale of heroism which ought not to be forgotten, but in this case, as in that of the *Armenian*, the assailants were technically within their rights.

Neither in the spirit nor in the letter of the

law was there the shadow of an excuse for the next conspicuous achievement of the German undersea fleet. At half-past nine in the morning of Thursday, August 19, 1915, the White Star liner *Arabic*, one day out from Liverpool on its way to New York, was sixty miles off the Irish coast when she sighted the steamer *Dunsley* in difficulties and obviously sinking. She altered her course and steered towards the *Dunsley*, when suddenly a submarine emerged from behind it and, without a moment's warning, launched a torpedo at the liner, striking her about 90 feet from her bows. "Instantly," said a passenger, "the vessel trembled—there was such a roar as I never have heard and hope never to hear again; and a jet of water and debris rose up in the air fully 50 feet above the captain's bridge. . . . Almost instantaneously the boats were lowered from the davits. From first to last—it is my unchecked opinion only—the vessel was not above eight minutes between the moment she was struck and her final explosion and disappearance." Fortunately, unlike the *Lusitania*, she retained a more or less even keel, so that the boats were got into the water with comparative ease, and only 30 lives were lost out of a total of some 424. Twenty-six of the passengers were Americans, and of these two were drowned.

As she was outward bound she could not

possibly be carrying contraband of war, and the wantonness of the misdeed was peculiarly flagrant. The German Government tried to excuse it on the plea that the *Arabic* was attempting to ram the submarine, or, alternatively, to escape. To this the managers of the White Star Line replied:

There is no doubt that the *Arabic* was struck by a torpedo. Captain Finch did not see the submarine, but undoubtedly saw the torpedo. There is no question of the *Arabic* having tried to ram the submarine, because it was not seen from the bridge. There is no question of the *Arabic* having tried to escape, except the very proper precaution of having put the helm hard over when they saw the torpedo.

Ultimately the Germans had to abandon their impossible position. Count Bernstorff stated to the American Government that his Government "were convinced that the submarine commander really thought he was going to be rammed; but that they did not feel that they could impugn the word of the British officers of the *Arabic* that such an intention never entered their heads, and hence could only regret and disavow the act, and promise to pay indemnity for American lives lost."

The next victim of note was the Allan liner *Hesperian*. Outward bound for Canada, she was

torpedoed without warning at 8.31 in the evening of September 4, about 84 miles south of the Fastnet. "The force of the impact was so great that the ship was literally stopped dead, the engine ceasing to move." Nevertheless, she remained afloat for thirty-five hours after being struck, but sank before she could be towed into port. She carried 314 passengers and a crew of about 250. Thirty lives were lost, mainly, no doubt, as a result of the explosion.

In the winter of 1915 the chief scene of action was transferred to the Mediterranean. The first notable victim was the Italian liner *Ancona*. As to the details of its destruction there is a good deal of uncertainty. Not even the date is quite beyond doubt. A survivor whose narrative appeared in *The Times* of November 12 states that the ship left Naples at 11.15 on the evening of Saturday the 6th, called at Messina on Sunday the 7th, and was attacked by the submarine "exactly at 1 o'clock on Monday afternoon." It would appear from this fairly circumstantial statement that the date was November 8; but the date usually given, and accepted by the Italian Government in a statement issued about a week after the event, is November 7. The attack took place off Cape Carbonara, in Sardinia, and the submarine, which was a large and powerful one, flew the Austrian flag. The suspicion originally enter-

tained that it was in reality German appears to have been unfounded; but Austria was certainly, in this case, acting upon the principles of her ally. It seems pretty clear that the *Ancona* at first attempted to escape, and that the first shots fired at her were therefore justified; but it is also clear that she was bombarded after she had surrendered, and that the Austrians did their best, by their shell-fire, to heighten the panic which broke out on board, thus contributing both directly and indirectly to the loss of 208 lives out of a total of 507. The irreducible minimum of the indictment against the assailant is stated in the second American Note (December 22) after the case had been fully investigated and the report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty considered. In that report, said the American Government, "it is admitted that the vessel was torpedoed after the engines had stopped and while the passengers were still on board. This admission alone, in the view of the Government of the United States, is sufficient to fix upon the commander of the submarine which fired the torpedo the responsibility of having wilfully violated the recognised law of nations, and entirely disregarded those humane principles which every belligerent should observe in the conduct of war at sea."

It was again an Austrian submarine which on Christmas Eve, off the coast of Crete, tor-

pedoed without warning the French steamer *Ville de Ciotat*, causing a loss of 80 lives out of a total of about 300. From the survivors who landed at Malta the correspondent of *The Times* gathered the following details of the occurrence:

The torpedo struck the stern of the ship. There was no sign of panic on board. The crew set to work to lower the boats, while the passengers with great coolness were gathering on deck from every part of the ship. Five lifeboats and two rafts were released, but one boat, containing women and children, capsized, and the occupants were thrown into the water, and all drowned. Another boat was smashed against the ship's side. When the *Ville de Ciotat* sank she carried with her the majority of those reported lost.

The submarine remained off the scene until the vessel disappeared, and then circled round the lifeboats, jeering at the survivors and telling them, "There's a British steamer behind—she will pick you up." Five hours afterwards the British steamer *Meroe* picked up the survivors and brought them to Malta.

This "jeering," however, may be forgiven in view of the fact that the submarine made no attempt to sink the *Meroe*, as a German U-boat would almost certainly have done. On the other hand, nothing can palliate the attack with-

out warning on a passenger-ship on which the assailants must have known that there were in all probability (as there were in fact) numerous women and children.

In the same waters, a week later, a still more shocking crime was perpetrated. The P. and O. Liner *Persia*, bound from London to Bombay, was torpedoed without warning at 1.5 P.M. on December 30, and sank at 1.10, carrying with her 335 souls out of a total of 501. The passengers numbered 184, of whom 119 were drowned—among them the American Consul at Aden.

Colonel the Hon. C. Bigham telegraphed from Alexandria to the P. and O. Company:

Within five minutes of being torpedoed the ship had sunk, and it was impossible to lower the starboard boats, owing to the heavy list. Five or six boats, however, were able to be lowered to port. I did not see this myself, as I was washed overboard when the boat capsized.

The conduct of the passengers and crew was splendid. There was no struggling, nor was there any panic. Four of the boats, after having been thirty hours at sea, were picked up by one of His Majesty's ships.

Hard as was the experience of those who found places in the boats, it was less terrible than that of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, who

thus described the "miracle" by which he was saved:

. . . The port side was submerged in two minutes, and the ship sank by the stern, dragging me down with her.

When I was blown up to the surface again I saw a dreadful scene of struggling human beings. There was hardly any wreckage to grasp. . . . After a desperate struggle I climbed on to the bottom of a broken boat, with 28 Lascars and 3 other Europeans. Our number was reduced to 19 by Thursday night, and only 11 remained on Friday, the rest having died from exposure and injuries.

We saw a neutral steamer pass close by on Thursday evening at about 8 o'clock, but she took no notice of the red glare shown by another of the *Persia's* boats. I pulled five dead men out of the water during the first night in the water-logged boat. We saw a large steamer three miles away on the next day, but she, too, ignored our signals, probably thinking they were a ruse of an enemy submarine.

Our broken boat capsized constantly, and we were all the time washed by the waves, so that we were almost exhausted when the second night began. At 8.30 P.M. we saw the Alfred Holt steamer *Ningchow* near us, and shouted as loudly as we could. Eventually the steamer stopped some way off, again suspecting a submarine trap, but at last she approached and rescued us on Friday night at 9 o'clock, after we had been thirty-two

hours in the sea without water or food, except one biscuit [each] from a tin found in the boat, since breakfast-time on Thursday.

In a fuller narrative which appeared after his return to England, Lord Montagu said:

At sunset on Friday we had practically given up all hope of being saved. I said to my Scottish friend that it was the last sunset we should ever see, and he answered, "Yes, I'm afraid our number's up." . . . We cap-sized once more about 7 P.M., through the Italian turning light-headed. He had yielded to the temptation to drink salt water. In this accident we lost the tin of biscuits and the red flares we had hoped to use during the night.

The courage that sustains men through such an ordeal as this is still more wonderful than the physical endurance.

Both Germany and Austria disclaimed responsibility for the sinking of the *Persia*, leaving it on the shoulders of Turkey. But the spirit which inspired the deed was engendered in Berlin and nowhere else.

VII

AMERICA AND THE "SUSSEX"

EVER since the *Lusitania* catastrophe, an exchange of notes had been proceeding between the American and the German Governments with reference to that event, and to the rights and wrongs of submarine warfare in general. Each successive crime—and particularly the attacks upon the *Arabic*, the *Ancona*, and the *Persia*—created a fresh outburst of excitement in America, and renewed the strain upon the chronically tense relations. There was, however, no real danger of its reaching the breaking point, since President Wilson, now approaching the end of his first term of office, knew that his country was as yet neither morally nor materially prepared for war. On October 5, 1915, Count Bernstorff had assured Mr. Lansing, the American Secretary of State, that stringent orders had been given to German submarines not to attack passenger-ships, "so that a recurrence of incidents similar to the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question." As a

matter of fact (as we have seen) the murder of passengers had, during the winter months, been left to Germany's Allies, who had, however, operated "as ever in their great Taskmaster's eye." At last, on February 9, 1916, the *Lusitania* incident was held to have been closed by a note from Berlin admitting that Germany had not been as careful of the safety of neutrals as she ought to have been. She still maintained that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was a justifiable retaliation for the British Order in Council; but the final effect of her note was this:

Germany admits, not that retaliation is illegal, but that it is wrong where it may affect the safety of neutrals.

This admission is strengthened by an offer to pay a full indemnity for the American victims, whose loss is deeply regretted.

Germany repeats the pledge that unarmed merchantmen shall not be sunk without warning and unless the safety of the passengers and crew can be assured, provided, of course, that the vessels do not try to escape or resist.

The final proviso evidently left the door open for any desirable amount of barbarity; while of the German conception of what is meant by "assuring the safety of passengers and crew" we have already had specimens enough, and shall presently come upon many more.

Six weeks had barely passed when Germany

gave to the United States and the world at large a startling demonstration of the worth of her promises. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of March 24, 1916, the French passenger steamer *Sussex* left Folkstone for Dieppe, carrying over 380 passengers, of whom about 270 are stated to have been women and children. As she approached the French coast, about 4.20, she was struck by a torpedo from an unseen submarine, which blew the whole fore part of the ship away, causing many deaths. Fortunately, the saloon bulkhead, though bent inward, stood firm, so that the ship remained afloat. As this, however, was not to be reckoned on, many of the passengers took to boats and rafts, and in so doing several lost their lives. The total death-roll amounted to about 80; and many of the survivors were severely injured, whether by the explosion or otherwise. There were 25 Americans among the passengers, most of whom, however, were saved. One of these, Mr. Edward Marshall, of the *New York Sun*, gave a vivid description of the catastrophe, which concluded thus:

It would be difficult to exaggerate the indignation which was expressed on board among the American survivors. The fact that the ship was absolutely unarmed, . . . that she carried no munitions, and that no portion of her cargo was designed to give

comfort to the fighting forces of the Allies, combined with the fact that she was known to be a boat upon which women and children, under the necessity of making the Channel passage, inevitably would sail, made the act of those who struck at her seem particularly inexcusable. To an American who looked about upon the company of white-faced, shivering women during these long hours of gloom and peril before the rescue-ships appeared, and who listened to the wailing of the babies vainly wrapped against the chilling cold, sometimes by strangers' hands, because their mothers' hands were still forever, a growing feeling of hot anger was inevitable.

This feeling was widely shared in America, and relations between Germany and the United States slipped back to the condition of tension in which they had stood before the so-called *Lusitania* settlement.

The German Government at first tried to evade responsibility. The *Sussex*, it suggested, was not sunk by a torpedo, but struck a mine. When fragments of a German torpedo were produced from the wreck (which had been towed into Boulogne), Berlin admitted that a U-boat had torpedoed a ship on the day in question near the spot where the *Sussex* was attacked, but produced a drawing, made by the submarine commander, of the boat he had waylaid, which did not correspond with the appearance

of the *Sussex*, and was held to justify the commander's conviction that the ship he attacked was a mine-layer of the *Arabis* class. The conclusion indicated was again that the *Sussex* struck a mine, though no explanation was vouchsafed of the fragments of a torpedo among the wreckage. President Wilson, in a note published on April 26, waved aside these subterfuges with polite contempt. He said:

. . . The *Sussex* was never armed; she was a ship which, as is well known, was regularly employed only for the transport of passengers across the English Channel. She did not follow the route pursued by troop transports or munition ships. About 80 passengers, non-combatants of every age of both sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or wounded.

A careful, thorough, scientific, impartial examination by officers of the United States Navy and Army has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or challenge to surrender, and that the torpedo with which she was struck was of German make. In the view of the United States Government, these facts, from beginning to end, make the conclusion that the torpedo was discharged from a German submarine inevitable. . . . After careful examination of the note of the Imperial Government of April 10, the United States Government regrets to have to say that it has derived the impression . . . that the Imperial Govern-

ment has failed to appreciate the seriousness of the situation which has arisen, not only out of the attack on the *Sussex*, but out of the whole method and character of submarine warfare as they appear in consequence of the unrestricted maintenance of the practice of indiscriminate destruction of merchantmen of every kind, nationality, and designation, during a period exceeding twelve months, by commanders of German submarines. . . .

In pursuit of this policy of submarine warfare against its enemy's trade . . . the Imperial Government's submarine commanders have practised a procedure of such reckless destruction as made it more and more clear during recent months that the Imperial Government has found no way to impose on them such restrictions as it had hoped and promised. The Imperial Government has repeatedly and solemnly assured the United States Government that passenger ships, at least, would not be thus treated, and yet it has repeatedly allowed its submarine commanders to disregard these assurances with impunity. . . .

A more delicate way could scarcely have been found of informing the German Government that it had systematically lied and broken its word. The note proceeded:

The United States Government has adopted a very patient attitude, and at every stage of this painful experience of tragedy upon tragedy has striven to be guided by well-

considered regard for the extraordinary circumstances of an unexampled war. . . . It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as naturally made in full sincerity and good faith, and has desired not to abandon the hope that it would be possible for the Imperial Government to regulate and supervise the actions of the commanders of its naval forces in a way which will bring their conduct into consonance with the recognised principles of humanity embodied in international law. . . .

To its pain it has become clear to it that the standpoint which it adopted from the beginning is inevitably right—namely, that the employment of submarines for the destruction of enemy trade is of necessity . . . completely irreconcilable with the principles of humanity, with the long-existing, undisputed rights of neutrals, and with the sacred privileges of non-combatants. . . .

If the Imperial Government should not now proclaim and make effective renunciation of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and cargo ships, the United States Government can have no other choice than to break off completely diplomatic relations with the German Government.

Germany's reply to this peremptory demand that she should mend her ways was a conditional promise to do so. Its operative clause ran thus:

The German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the gen-

eral principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognised by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these vessels attempt to escape or offer resistance.

This was merely a somewhat more explicit repetition of a pledge already given, and it was accompanied by an expression of "confidence" that the United States Government would now "co-operate" with the German Government "towards the restoration of the freedom of the seas" and would "insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognised before the war." "Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States," the note continued, "not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government will then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision." This was as much as to say, "We shall not consider ourselves bound by this promise one moment longer than we find it convenient so to do"; but it suited President Wilson's policy to treat cynically unreal "concessions" as though they were real, while at the same time he emphatically declined to allow any weight

to the condition attached to the German promise. The American Government, he said, "could not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high sea should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

So the discussion ended for the moment in a manifestly hollow truce, which maintained a precarious existence of nine months—from May, 1916, until February, 1917. Meanwhile, in November, Dr. Woodrow Wilson had been re-elected President of the United States.

VIII

MINOR BARBARITIES

THE world is always, and inevitably, impressed by the magnitude of a disaster as measured by the numbers involved. A cry of horror goes up when a great liner carries hundreds to their doom; but no one pays much attention when a tramp or a trawler is torpedoed, and its handful of a crew either drowned or subjected to such appalling hardships as make the fate of their dead messmates seem the more desirable. Yet the life of a foremast hand is as dear to him, and his capacity for suffering is as great, as that of the millionaire who occupies an "Ambassador's Suite" on a floating palace. Every man lives his own life and dies his own death; and his death is no more tragic if a thousand fellow-victims share his fate, than if he die alone or along with a mere boat's crew of comrades. German piracy shows quite as blackly in its individual murders as in its wholesale massacres.

In the case of all vessels attacked without

warning—such as the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic*, the *Sussex*, and many others—it is clear that the assailants set at absolute defiance the rule of international law that when a prize has to be destroyed due provision must first be made for the safety of the passengers and crew. In these cases it was apparently the express purpose of the submarine commander to kill as many non-combatants, as many women and children, as he possibly could. The German Government admitted, by implication at any rate, the illegality of these proceedings, and promised the American Government over and over again that merchant ships should not be destroyed without any consideration for the lives of passengers and crew. But then came the question of interpreting the phrase “due provision” for the safety of non-combatants. In other wars it had always been understood as meaning that they should be subjected to no more than the ordinary risks of maritime travel. Previous practice has thus been summarised by Sir Frederick Smith in his book on “The Destruction of Merchant Ships” (p. 49):

During the American Revolution, Paul Jones removed the persons on board before destroying a captured vessel; and when he could [not?] do so he released his prize. Similarly in the war of 1812 this rule was observed. In the case of the *Felicity*—to give but one

example—"the officers and crew, together with their clothes and other property, had been removed on board the *Endymion*," and the *Felicity* was destroyed. In the American Civil War, Captain Semmes, the notorious commander of the *Alabama*, did not hesitate to destroy his prizes, but invariably removed first the persons on board. When it was found impossible to do so, he released the ship. Thus he released the *Ariel*, a valuable prize, "and sent her and her large number of passengers on their way rejoicing," because he could not find any accommodation for them. Before the destruction of the *Hatteras*, which was, moreover, a warship, "every living being in it was safely conveyed to the *Alabama*." "We were making war," he observed, "upon the enemy's commerce, not upon his unarmed seamen. It gave me as much pleasure to treat these with humanity as it did to destroy his ships." . . . Again, in the Russo-Japanese war, the crews of captured vessels were removed before destruction was effected. In the present war British commanders scrupulously observed the rule; and on several occasions German cruisers, *e. g.*, the *Emden*, the *Karlsruhe*, the *Eitel Friedrich*, did the same.

There could be no doubt, therefore, that, in the light of all previous practice, "safety" must be taken to mean safety, and not imminent and direful danger. It was only when the U-boat came on the scene that it occurred to any human being to suppose that the requirement as

to "due provision for the safety of passengers and crew" was fulfilled when they had been set adrift in open boats, at any season, in any weather, and at such distances from land as to render their ultimate rescue extremely problematical, and to ensure them, in the best event, hours and days of the acutest suffering. As a matter of fact, German "humanity," as thus exercised, has often inflicted on its victims such tortures that it would have been humaner to have drowned them at once.

As the Germans began to build more powerful U-boats their sphere of action was naturally enlarged, and we find them pursuing their amiable calling at great distances from land. The following is a table of the distances from the nearest land at which certain ships have been sunk, and their passengers and crews committed to open boats:

SHIP	MILES FROM LAND
<i>Alnwick Castle</i>	320
<i>Caithness</i> (38 lives lost)	240
<i>Karila</i>	230
<i>Rona</i>	212
<i>Franconia</i> (12 lives lost)	195
<i>Silverash</i>	180
<i>Galgate</i>	170
<i>Jolo</i>	155
<i>Bernadette</i> (26 lives lost)	150
<i>Cymric</i> (4 lives lost)	140
<i>Rowanmore</i>	128
<i>City of Birmingham</i>	126
<i>Industry</i>	120
<i>Italiana</i>	112
<i>Lady Ninian</i> (1 life lost)	106

Numberless are the tales of appalling hardships, often ending in death, which have resulted from the dastardly practice of leaving sailors and passengers at the mercy of wind and weather in open boats—thus

Keeping the word of promise to the ear,
To break it to the hope.

Here are a few examples:

The *Umeta* was sunk without warning, and one of her crowded open boats was left adrift from December 1st to December 5th. One man died from thirst and exposure.

The crew of the *Cottingham* were forced to take to their boats on December 26. There were six men in the captain's boat, which was picked up in a few hours. Of the chief officer's boat nothing was heard until it drifted ashore bottom upward on the Welsh coast. Of the seven men it had contained there was no trace.

The *Clan Macfarlane* was torpedoed without warning on December 30, 1915, in the Mediterranean. The crew of 76 got clear in six boats. They tried to make the coast of Crete, but were prevented by stormy weather. For nine days they were tossed about at the mercy of wind and wave. In every boat men died, one by one, of exposure—the Lascar seamen first, then the Europeans. Two of the boats were abandoned, and the survivors of their crews

taken on board the other boats; but at last the remaining four were separated, and it was only a single boat, with its emaciated, exhausted crew, that was picked up on January 7 by the steamship *Crown of Arragon*. The other boats, with their occupants, were never heard of again.

The *Windermere* was shelled by an Austrian submarine in the Mediterranean, at a point about 40 miles from Port Mahon. The crew abandoned her in two boats, containing 12 men each. The chief officer's boat reached Las Sabinas in Majorca the next day. The master's boat was never heard of again.

The *Scottish Monarch* was sunk by shell fire about 40 miles south from Ballycotton Light. The master and 19 of the crew left the ship in one boat, the chief officer and 14 hands in the other. The remainder of the story is thus related by Mr. Alfred Noyes in "Open Boats":

The two boats kept together till dark; but at 8.40 the chief officer's boat capsized, owing to the choppy sea, and sight of the other boat was lost in the confusion.

All hands, after a struggle, managed to regain the boat, but she remained full of water, with her tanks adrift. Before midnight she had again capsized three times; and the reader may imagine for himself what scenes were enacted in that lonely darkness of wind and sea. Only four hands out of the fifteen were left at the end of the third desperate

struggle. They were the mate, the carpenter, and two seamen. They saw one or two vessels in the early morning, but their only means of signalling was a handkerchief on a stick, and they were not noticed.

The boat was battered to and fro like a cockle-shell in the smoking seas; and about eight o'clock in the morning the two seamen became too exhausted to cling on. They were slowly washed overboard. Their faces and hands swirled up once or twice in the foam, and then disappeared.

At five o'clock on that day, after long hours of struggle, the mate, who was sitting aft, gradually dropped into the water in the bottom of the boat and died there. The carpenter was now the only survivor. All that he endured in the long following night and day, with the dead man washing to and fro at his feet, and the dead face looking up at him through the bubbling water, can only be imagined. He says that "nothing particular" happened. At nightfall on the next day, more than twenty-four hours later, twenty-four hours of lonely battering and slow starvation, he and the dead body were picked up by a Grimsby trawler and landed at St. Ives. Nothing was ever heard of the other boat.

The poet who imagined the torments of the Ancient Mariner imagined nothing more terrible than this product of the realistic German genius.

The crew of the *Coquette* were forced to abandon her, in two open boats, by a U-boat

which first looted and then sank her. The master's boat made land in North Africa, where three of the crew were killed, and ten taken prisoner and held to ransom by Bedouin Arabs. The chief officer's boat was never heard of again.

The *Tringa* was sunk by an Austrian submarine. One of the boats was picked up after drifting for forty-eight hours. The lifeboat, containing the captain and thirteen sailors, was never heard of again.

"Never heard of again"—that is the monotonous refrain in scores of cases. In the case of the *Rappahannock*, which sailed from Halifax on October 17, 1916, the whole ship, with its crew of 37, was never heard of again, except in the German wireless which reported its destruction. Germany cannot complain if this gives rise to the darkest suspicions. It was one of her own chargés d'affaires, Count Luxburg, who recommended that the ships of the Argentine Republic, in which he was the accredited agent of a friendly (!) power, should be *spurlos versenkt*—sunk without leaving a trace; and there is little doubt that in some of the cases in which the boats of a sunken ship have been deliberately shelled, the object was to leave no one alive to betray the presence of a submarine in the region in question. Dead men tell no tales.

Thus, for instance, after the *Westminster* had been attacked without warning (December 14,

1916, in the Mediterranean, and sunk in four minutes, her boats were shelled from a distance of 3,000 yards, and one of them was sunk, the captain and chief engineer being killed outright and five other men drowned. The *North Wales*, like the *Rappahannock*, disappeared altogether, save for a line in the German wireless report. The *Kildale* was torpedoed in the Mediterranean, and as she sank the U-boat came to the surface and opened fire upon the boats with guns and rifles. She would doubtless have succeeded in exterminating the survivors had not two British patrol boats appeared on the scene and put her to flight.

The Times of August 20, 1917, published a list of twelve authenticated instances of submarines firing on survivors who had escaped in open boats. In eight of these cases the ship sunk was British, in two Swedish, in one Danish, and in one Dutch.

When the *Alnwick Castle* was torpedoed 320 miles from the nearest land, and the survivors had taken to the boats, the whole crew of the submarine came on deck and stood with folded arms, laughing at their plight. The acting fourth officer of the *Thracia*, torpedoed off the coast of France, April 27, 1917, thus relates his experiences:

I was on a capsized boat with the stern blown off, about two and a half to three hours after the ship was sunk. The submarine

came near me—at the time (11 P.M.) it was very dark—and asked what ship it was that she had sunk, where was she from, where was she for, what was her cargo, and was I an Englishman?

I answered all the questions.

He then said: "I am going to shoot you." I told him to shoot away.

He then said: "I don't waste powder on any pig of an Englishman," and left me in the boat. In the morning, at 10.30, I was picked up by a French fishing-boat.

Another instance of German geniality followed the sinking of the steamship *Jupiter* (May 21, 1917), with the loss of 19 lives. To the six survivors, who got away in an open boat, one of the crew of the submarine shouted: "You've no home now, but there's room for you below."

On January 27, 1917, at a time when Germany still purported to be bound by her promise to the United States as to saving non-combatant lives, the British steamship *Artist* was sunk 48 miles from land, in a bitter midwinter gale. One of the boats was picked up three days later. It had originally contained 23 men, but 7 had died of wounds or exposure. The Admiralty, in reporting the case, justly remarked that to pretend that anything had been done to ensure the safety of the crew would be sheer hypocrisy.

On April 19, 1917, the British steamship

Caithness was torpedoed without warning, 240 miles from land. The master and 20 men went down with the sinking ship. The rest of the crew, about 20, managed to right a cap-sized boat in which, a gradually dwindling company, they drifted for fourteen days, without any food, before a West Hartlepool steamer picked up the remnant. There were then three living men on board the boat and one corpse, which the living were too weak to throw overboard. One of the three survivors died on the day of rescue.

Though British seamen were, of course, the favourite and by far the most numerous victims of maritime "*Kultur*," neutrals were very far from being exempt from its operations. It cannot even be said that Germany made any clear discrimination between neutrals who were friendly to her and neutrals who were really neutral. The countrymen of the great Kaiser-worshipper, Sven Hedin, and of the obsequious diplomats who were transmitting cipher messages from German agents in Spanish America, came in for several shrewd knocks at the hands of their neighbours across the Baltic. We have just seen (p. 69) how, in two instances, Swedish crews were shelled in their boats by the submarines which had sunk their ships. As Norwegian vessels, however, were the most numerous and most daring in the northern waters,

they were the most frequent victims. At the end of 1916, even before the days of confessedly "unrestricted" frightfulness, official returns showed that 278 Norwegian ships had been sunk either by U-boats or mines, and 204 sailors had lost their lives. During the first six months of 1917, 308 ships and 421 lives had to be added to the account, making a grand total of 586 ships and 625 lives. The steadfastness and intrepidity of Norwegian seamen have all along been worthy of the highest admiration.

Some of the more conspicuous instances of Germany's treatment of Norwegian shipping are worth recording. On June 9, 1915, the *Svein Jarl* was torpedoed without warning. The whole front part of the ship was blown away, and she sank in thirty seconds, the propeller still whirling as she took the last plunge. Five men were picked up after passing many hours in the water. Twelve lives were lost.

On June 6, 1916, the *Prosper III.*, possibly mined, but much more probably torpedoed without warning, went to the bottom in fifteen seconds. One man saved his life by clinging for sixty hours to the keel of an overturned boat. He had three companions at first, but they dropped off one by one. In all 29 lives were lost.

The *Ravn* was sunk by gunfire in the Arctic Ocean on September 29, 1916. Though a gale was blowing, with frequent blasts of snow and

hail, and the sea ran very high, the U-boat rendered no assistance whatever. The captain's boat, with six men, was never heard of again. The mate's boat reached land with two dead men aboard her. Their bodies were taken ashore, but were washed away by the waves in the course of the night; and before morning came two other men had died of cold and exposure.

After the proclamation of "unrestricted" warfare in January, 1917, the favourite German method of treating Norwegian ships was to shell them without warning or parley, and without giving the crew a moment's grace to take to their boats. The lives of many sailors have been sacrificed to this wanton brutality. On June 13 the sailing ship *Carmel* was towed into Peterhead, very much damaged by gunfire. In the cabin was the body of a man whose head had been shot off. All the rest of the crew had disappeared, and have never been heard of. Some ten days later, on the night of June 24, as the steamship *Kong Haakon* was passing through the Bay of Biscay under convoy, a U-boat suddenly appeared alongside of her, and at a distance of about 35 yards poured into her a withering fire, which converted her into a shambles. Nineteen lives were lost and only 4 saved.

In several cases the Germans were guilty of an almost incredible extreme of brutality in

leaving women to share the perils and agonies of exposure in open boats in mid-ocean. The captain of the Norwegian steamship *Dalmata* had been recently married, and took his wife with him for her first sea-voyage. The ship was torpedoed on February 11, 1917, though the presence of a woman on board was well known to the U-boat commander. In the *Christiania Aftenpost* the lady gave this account of her experiences:

Fortunately we had sails, a small cask of water, biscuits, and some other victuals, but no lights. We rowed for the whole of the day and sailed during the night, when it was pitch dark. We were in the middle of the Atlantic, and our signals of distress were not observed. . . . The sea was extremely heavy, it was piercingly cold, and my two coats and blanket were soaked as the result of the sea washing over the boat.

On Tuesday (February 14) our food and water failed. One man in my boat died from the frost on Tuesday morning, and most of the others were ill. On Wednesday morning there was still no prospect of rescue, and we knew not where we were drifting. . . . I lay down in the bottom of our boat, prepared to die. . . . My arms and legs were like sticks, and my eyes bloodshot from staring. At nine next morning we came within view of the schooner *Ellen Benzon*, which rescued us. The rough sea prevented her coming alongside, and I was hoisted up by a rope.

They had been five days and some hours at the mercy of the wintry Atlantic.

A month later (March 13, 1917) it was the turn of the Swedish schooner *Dag*. She was sunk 200 miles west of the Scillys, and the captain, his wife, and eight men were adrift in an open boat for four days and three nights.

The Danish steamer *Hropatyr* was torpedoed on December 22, 1916, off Ushant. A heavy sea was running, and the boats had just been lowered with great difficulty, when the submarine came rushing up and struck the lifeboat, hurling it against the steamer's side. The captain was crushed to death, his head being severed from his body, and a sailor received injuries from which he afterwards died.

It might have been imagined that a civilised nation, even if it adopted the principle that "necessity knows no law" (*Not kennt kein Gebot*), and therefore assumed the right to destroy the whole world's shipping, would at least show some discrimination in favour of neutrals, and try to carry out the work of destruction as considerately as possible. There is, in fact, no trace of any such effort. It almost seems as if the *furor Teutonicus* wreaked itself upon neutrals with a peculiar gusto. That they were in no way distinguished from enemies is apparent from the fact that they were not only sunk at sight, but were frequently pillaged before being

disposed of. Thus the captain of the Danish steamer *Daisy* gave evidence before the Shipping Court at Copenhagen to the effect that, before sinking his ship in the Atlantic, the Germans packed up provisions, instruments, and other articles in eight large sacks and forced the Danish sailors to assist in removing them to the submarine. "The captain's map of the Bay of Biscay, which was essential for navigating the lifeboat, was seized, as well as nearly all the bread in the lifeboat's lockers." So, too, the captain and crew of the Norwegian sailing ship *Fremad*, who were picked up after spending five days and nights in an open boat, stated that before sinking the ship the Germans annexed all the provisions on board, "broke open boxes and cupboards, and looted all valuables." Since the beginning of 1917, indeed, the looting of Norwegian ships has been the rule rather than the exception. Even articles of personal property, such as cigarette cases and the photographs in the captain's cabin, have been carried off. The Germans have supplied themselves liberally with blankets and whisky, while denying to the luckless men in the boats any such mitigation of their lot. It seems as though their chief object in life has been to make themselves as widely and as deeply hated as possible.

The tale of minor misdeeds—that is to say, outrages affecting only cargo boats as distinct

from passenger liners—could with ease be indefinitely extended. It is probable that these small-scale atrocities have, in the aggregate, caused more protracted and acuter suffering to a greater number of people than was caused by the wholesale massacres at which the world stood aghast. This may almost certainly be inferred, indeed, from the figures as to loss of life on British merchant vessels given in the House of Commons on June 30, 1917. It was stated that 9,748 non-combatants had been done to death, of whom 3,828 were passengers, while 5,920 were officers and seamen. In a very few instances the Germans had no doubt the letter of the law on their side, since the vessels were attempting to escape; but the proportion of lives lost under these conditions was certainly infinitesimal; and the attempt to escape was morally if not legally justified by the fact that there was no guarantee, and indeed no probability, that the crew (or passengers) of ships which surrendered would meet with the humane treatment prescribed by international law.

IX

MURDER BY SUBMERSION

THE Nietzschean *Ueberschensch*—the Superman—as soon as he tried to put in practice his superiority to such human weaknesses as chivalry and compassion, was bound to develop into the *Unterschensch*, or, as we may put it, the Subterman. Germany, with all her cult of Shakespeare, has forgotten the pregnant lines:

I dare do all that may become a man;
Who dares do more is none.

The man who seeks to rise above humanity inevitably sinks below it. There is something symbolical, then, in the fact that the worst atrocities (if, indeed, degrees of comparison are possible between deeds of unmitigated blackness) should be committed by men whose business it is to sink into the sunless, airless underworld, and there lie in ambush to murder and hide from vengeance. *Unterschensch*, or Subterman, is thus a peculiarly apt designation for the U-boat pirate—the man who haunts the deeps,

far beneath the normal low-water mark of human nature.

As it seems to be the chief ambition of the typical Subterman to exhaust all possible methods of cruelty, it was natural that he should not overlook the fairly obvious device of gathering a number of helpless people on the deck of his submersible craft, and then diving from under them and leaving them to drown. In this pleasant sport he has indulged on various occasions.

The steamship *La Belle France*, bound from Karachi to Dieppe, had just passed through the Suez Canal and was proceeding up the Mediterranean, when, on February 1, 1916, she was torpedoed without warning. As she at once listed heavily to starboard, all hands were ordered to the port side boats, two of which were lowered. Mr. Alfred Noyes, in "Open Boats," thus describes what followed:

The Lascar boat crews were ordered to keep close alongside the ship, but they became panic-stricken in face of the new frightfulness, and cast off from the ship without orders. The master and three other officers jumped into the drifting boats from the deck. The chief officer, who was standing by the falls, and the chief engineer, who was stopping the engines, were left on board as the boats drifted away.

6 The chief officer dived overboard and was

picked up by No. 3 boat. The chief engineer, being unable to swim, remained on board till, as the vessel righted herself, he succeeded in getting into No. 2 starboard boat, which was partly lowered. After about half an hour he was picked up by No. 3 boat.

No. 4 boat, in the meantime, had capsized. Some of the crew were swimming, and others were clinging to her bottom. The submarine rose to the surface, came alongside, and picked up these men. No. 3 boat was then called alongside the submarine by the officer in command, and was ordered to stand by. The officer of the submarine took his revolver, and threatened to shoot both crews if they came nearer.

At this moment four trawlers were seen on the horizon; and the submarine, sublimely oblivious of the shivering men it had just hauled on to its deck, dived with the whole bunch of them still standing there, and left them to flounder to the surface as best they could. Some of them were saved by No. 2 boat, but 19 were drowned, a good many being sucked down by the diving submarine. A delay of a very few seconds, of course, would have made it possible to save them all.

Another case of the same manœuvre followed the torpedoing of the Norwegian steamer *Fjeldli*, in May, 1917. On board one of the boats which left the steamer were the steward and his wife. This boat was ordered to come up to the submarine, as it was wanted to carry bombs for the destruction of another Norwegian steamer,

the *Randane*, which had been held up at the same time. The steward and his wife were told to go on board the submarine; but the companionway leading to its interior was too narrow to allow them to pass with their life-belts on, so they were made to take them off. The U-boat commander then questioned the steward as to the whereabouts of a certain ship that had left Bergen on the same day as the *Fjeldli*, but could get nothing out of them. He and his wife were therefore ordered back to the deck of the submarine, but their life-belts were not restored to them. The hatches were then closed down, and the luckless pair were left alone on deck. Soon afterwards a destroyer hove in sight, and was evidently observed by means of the periscope, for the U-boat submerged without any warning and left its involuntary guests struggling in the sea. Both were sucked down as the vessel dived, but when they came to the surface again they found themselves close to one of the boats of the *Fjeldli*, and were thus rescued. The Germans could not possibly have calculated on this happy ending to the episode. They had simply no thought to spare for such a trifling matter as the lives of a Norwegian man and woman who had had the audacity to put to sea in defiance of the prohibition issued by the German Empire.

It would be absurd to call the German

Subterman a coward. His service is an extremely dangerous one: he has death constantly at his elbow, and that in a peculiarly disagreeable form. Far better, surely, to die in open battle than to be drowned like a rat in a trap. But such cases as this of the *Fjeldli*, and that of *La Belle France*, place the submarine commanders concerned in an awkward dilemma: they show them to be either wantonly murderous or subject to such fits of panic as to render them oblivious of manifest duties which they could easily perform with no appreciable risk. The cool, collected courage which always keeps its head is evidently no part of their moral outfit.

In the more famous case of the *Belgian Prince* there is no room for the theory of murder in panic or murder by inadvertence. Here the verdict can only be deliberate and wilful murder—the order had apparently gone forth that the *Belgian Prince* was to be *spurlos versenkt*. She was torpedoed without warning about eight in the evening of July 31, 1917. The crew escaped in three boats—two life-boats and a small jolly boat. What then occurred may be narrated in the words of Mr. Thomas A. Bowman, chief engineer, whose story is confirmed in all essentials by the two other survivors:

When the submarine came round to the starboard side he started to fire at the ship's side with a machine-gun. By this time every-

body was clear of the ship, and the boats were about 200 yards from the ship. The submarine came up to where the boats were and ordered the boats to come alongside.

The commander ordered the master to step on the submarine, after which he took him down in the submarine. Then all the crew and officers were ordered aboard, searched, and the life-belts taken off most of the crew and thrown overboard. I may add, during this time the Germans were very abusive towards the crew. After this the German sailors got into the two life-boats, threw the oars, bailers, and gratings overboard, took out the provisions and compasses, and then damaged the life-boats with an axe.

The small boat was left intact, and five German sailors got into her and went towards the ship. When they boarded her they signalled to the submarine with a flash lamp, and then the submarine cast the damaged life-boats adrift and steamed away from the ship for about two miles, after which he stopped.

About 9 P.M. the submarine dived and threw everybody in the water without any means of saving themselves, as the majority of them had had their life-belts taken off them. After this I was swimming about all night until daylight, when I saw that the ship was still afloat, so I was swimming towards her with the intention of boarding her when suddenly I saw her explode aft and sink stern first, which was about 5.30 A.M.

After swimming about for some time I saw

smoke on the horizon, so I swam towards it. It proved to be an English patrol boat, which picked me up at about 6.30 on Wednesday morning. There were only three survivors out of a crew of 42 men all told. The master was taken away in the submarine. The total loss of life was 38.

The other survivors, G. Sillessi and Willie Snell, an American, say not merely that the life-belts were taken off "most of the crew," but that all life-belts had to be given up. The crew, says Snell—

were ordered to hold their hands up, then "Take your life-belts off"; they were asked if they had any arms, and told to lay their life-belts on the deck. One of the officers then threw seven or eight of the belts overboard

Snell had succeeded in secreting a life-belt under his raincoat. Sillessi kept himself afloat all night without any life-belt. We may presume that Bowman contrived to secure a life-belt, though he does not say so.

The murderous intention is manifest. What other motive could there be for destroying the life-boat? Be it noted that the master (now, no doubt, a prisoner in Germany) had been taken below from the beginning, and would know nothing of what was proceeding on deck. If, on emerging from captivity, he had found

that all his crew had disappeared without a trace, he would have had no reason to doubt that they had got off in the life-boats, and had simply been lost at sea. It was only the accidental survival of the engineer and two seamen that brought the atrocity to light. But for that, the *Belgian Prince*, like the *Rappahannock* and the *North Wales*, would have been *spurlos versenkt*.

X

HOSPITAL SHIPS AND RELIEF SHIPS

THE frenzy of destructive malevolence which has possessed the German mind is in nothing more conspicuous than in the attacks upon hospital ships and upon Belgian relief ships. The former are, indeed, the more atrocious, but the latter are the more insane. To sink a hospital ship is to do appreciable damage to the enemy, though by infamous means; to destroy relief ships, which are employed not only in supplying the needs of the Belgian population, but in "relieving" Germany of one of her most manifest duties, has all the air of that proverbially idiotic proceeding, "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face."

We have seen that attacks on hospital ships began very early in the war. On February 1, 1915, at 5 P.M., a torpedo was discharged at the hospital ship *Asturias*, but fortunately missed her. Of the fact there is no possible doubt—indeed, it is admitted by the Germans. The captain's report ran as follows:

At 4.15 P.M. on February 1, with the P.M.O., I inspected ship, finishing at 5 P.M. Going toward the bridge from the main saloon, Mr. Fletcher, cadet, reported to me, torpedo just fired at us passing astern. I at once went on the bridge, and upon the Second Officer confirming the statement that he observed the wash of a submarine two points on the starboard beam, I at once starboarded $3\frac{1}{2}$ points, sending down to the engine-room instructions to give the ship all steam possible. After that, until passing the lightship, I made a zigzag course. . . .

Apart from the testimony of my officers a number of people on board not only saw the course of the torpedo, but also observed the submarine following in our wake.

It was a very light and clear evening, and at 5.15 broad daylight, and in no possibility could the character of the ship be mistaken.

The German excuse, delivered through the Embassy at Washington, was that the *Asturias*, "looming up in the twilight," was in fact mistaken for a transport. We should perhaps give the commander the benefit of the doubt, and condemn his seamanship rather than his humanity; but even this, in the light of subsequent events, is a little difficult.

The first successful attack upon a hospital ship was perhaps not the work of a German U-boat; but even if the criminal was nominally Turkish, she may very likely have been manned

by Germans; and at all events the Turks would not have ventured on such an atrocity had they had any fear of incurring the censure of their German masters.

The Russian hospital ship *Portugal*—a converted French liner, still navigated by her French officers and crew—lay off the Turkish coast of the Black Sea on the morning of March 17, 1916. She was carrying no wounded, but the Red Cross staff was on board and the full crew. She had in tow a number of flat-bottomed boats, used in transporting the wounded from the shore to the ship; and, one of these having filled with water, she was stationary for the moment while the water was being pumped out. The ship was painted white with a red border all round. The funnels were white with red crosses, and she flew a Red Cross flag. The morning was clear, and any mistake as to her status was out of the question.

Her fate is thus narrated by an official of the Russian Red Cross Society:

At about 8 o'clock in the morning, somebody on board shouted out, "Submarine boat." At first this news did not produce any panic; on the contrary, everybody rushed on deck to be the first to see the submarine. It never entered anybody's head to suppose that a submarine would attack a hospital ship, sailing under the flag of the Red Cross.

I went on to the upper deck, and noticed the periscope of a submarine moving parallel with the steamer at a distance of about 170 or 200 feet. Having reached a point opposite to the middle of the *Portugal*, the periscope disappeared for a short time, then reappeared, and the submarine discharged a torpedo. I descended from the upper deck and ran to the stern, with the intention of jumping into the sea. When, however, I noticed that most of the people on deck had life-belts, I ran into saloon No. 5, seized a life-belt, and put it on, but then I fell down, as the *Portugal* was sinking at the place where she was broken in two, while her stem and stern were going up higher all the time. All round me unfortunate sisters of mercy were screaming for help. They fell down, like myself, and some of them fainted. The deck became more down-sloping every minute, and I rolled off into the water between the two halves of the sinking steamer. I was drawn down deep into the whirlpool, and began to be whirled round and thrown about in every direction. While under the water I heard a dull, rumbling noise, which was evidently the bursting of the boilers, for it threw me out of the vortex about a sazhen, or 7 feet, away from the engulfment of the wreck. The stem and stern of the steamer had gone up until they were almost at right angles with the water, and the divided steamer was settling down. At this moment I was again sucked under, but I exerted myself afresh, and once more rose to the surface. I then saw both portions of

the *Portugal* go down rapidly and disappear beneath the flood.

It is needless to dwell upon the horrors of the scene which followed. One such catastrophe is very like another, and, thanks to the sublime consistency with which Germany has translated her principles of warfare into practice, the wholesale drowning of men and women, not only non-combatant, but devoted to deeds of mercy, has become so familiar an incident that we are only too glad to take its details for granted. Suffice it to say that 21 nurses were drowned, and 24 other members of the Red Cross staff, together with 21 Russian and 19 French seamen—a total death-roll of 85.

The first British hospital ship to fall a victim to Kultur was the *Britannic*, the largest British ship afloat. She was torpedoed on the morning of November 21, 1916, off the island of Zea, near the southern extremity of Attica. As she was outward bound she carried no wounded, but over 100 of her crew and of the medical staff lost their lives. The Germans admitted that she was torpedoed, but justified the act on the ground that she was carrying troops. The falsity of this allegation was proved by the clearest evidence. The total number of persons on board was 1,125, of whom 625 belonged to the crew, and 500 to the medical staff, con-

sisting of the following R.A.M.C. ranks and ratings:

Officers	25
Nurses	76
Sergeants, hospital orderlies, dispensers, laboratory attendants, operating-room attendants, skiagraphists, nursing orderlies, clerical staff	399
	500

The Germans alleged that "the large numbers of persons on board . . . justified the forcible suspicion of the misuse of the hospital ship for purposes of transport"; whereupon it was pertinently retorted that, according to the "Handbuch für die deutsche Handelsmarine" for 1914, the total complement of the German liner *Imperator*, of about the same size as the *Britannic*, was 1,184 officers and men. Rightly considered, indeed, the figures amounted to an absolute disproof of the German allegation; for had the *Britannic* been carrying troops at all, she would certainly have carried not hundreds, but thousands.

Three days later the hospital ship *Braemar Castle* was sunk in the same waters; but it has not been clearly established whether her loss was due to a torpedo or to a mine.

The Germans had long prepared the way for

attacks on hospital ships by spreading groundless reports as to their wrongful use, which the Admiralty had more than once categorically denied. As to these falsehoods *The Times* wrote as follows:

One of the first of them stated that Germans in Portsmouth Harbour had reported that two hospital ships started from there daily for France, deeply loaded, returning regularly unloaded. . . . It was therefore suggested that the ships carried war material and ammunition under the protection of the Red Cross. This palpable lie was possibly based on a substratum of truth, since hospitals require supplies;¹ but it indicated the eagerness of the German official mind to find excuses for unlawful acts.

Later in the year the German Wireless elaborated other charges of the kind. Reports from Spain were said to have told of large numbers of hospital ships having been seen on their way to the Mediterranean. The ships had become much more numerous, it was alleged, since the activity of the U-boats in that sea. Sworn statements were also said to be in German possession that war materials had been carried in such ships, labelled "soft soap." Describing "the biggest fraud the British navy has practised," a German message, on November 21, 1915, spoke of 70 British transports having passed Gibraltar,

¹ Also, hospital ships "bunker" in England, and naturally return with their coal-bunkers depleted.

all "heavily laden and painted like hospital ships, on their way to Greek waters." In denying all these stories, the Admiralty said that there were 42 British hospital ships working to and from the Mediterranean, and although all were fully ballasted to secure safety and comfort, they were not "deeply laden," but, on the contrary, were generally some feet higher than deep draught. Other counts in the indictment were similarly disposed of. In view of the allegations, however, the hospital ship *Mauretania* was examined at Naples by the American, Danish, and Swiss consuls, who jointly signed a declaration that there were neither combatants nor war-like stores on board her.

These accusations show that German spies were conscientiously earning their pay by making suggestions which the German authorities were all the readier to believe, as they attributed to Britain a policy which, had the positions been reversed, they themselves would doubtless have adopted without the smallest hesitation.

When, in January, 1917, the German Government resolved upon its great gamble, and announced the policy of "unrestricted" U-boat warfare, it did not fail to disclaim even the restriction placed by international law upon the sinking of hospital ships. Its great aim was to reduce the world's tonnage, no matter to what

ends the tonnage was applied. It accordingly announced that it held "conclusive proof" of the misuse of hospital ships for the transport of munitions and troops,¹ and that therefore "the traffic of hospital ships . . . within lines drawn between Flamborough Head and Terschelling on the one hand, and from Ushant to Land's End on the other, would no longer be tolerated." To this the Foreign Office made the following reply:

His Majesty's Government . . . most emphatically deny that British hospital ships have been used for the transport of munitions and troops, or in any way contrary to the Hague Convention for the adaptation of the principles of the Geneva Convention to maritime war.

Under the Convention belligerents have the right to search hospital ships, and the German Government have therefore an obvious remedy in case of suspicion, a remedy which they have never utilized.

From the German Government's statement that hospital ships will no longer be tolerated within the limits mentioned, only one conclusion can be drawn, namely, that it is the intention of the German Government to add yet another and more unspeakable crime against law and humanity to the long list which disgraces their record.

¹ For the Admiralty's detailed and crushing answer to these charges see White Paper, Miscellaneous No. 16 (1917), Cd. 8692.

Whether from some lingering scruple, or, more probably, from lack of opportunity, seven weeks passed before any attack—any successful attack, at any rate—was made upon a hospital ship. The *Asturias*, which had escaped destruction two years earlier, was the first victim. She was torpedoed without warning on the night of March 20, when she was steaming with all navigating lights and with all the proper distinguishing Red Cross signs brilliantly illuminated. Of the medical staff 14 lost their lives, including one female staff nurse, and of the ship's company 29, including one stewardess.

Ten days later (March 30) the *Gloucester Castle* was torpedoed without warning in mid-channel. All the wounded, however, were successfully removed from the ship.

On the evening of April 17, two ships, the *Donegal* and the *Lanfranc*, were torpedoed without warning, while transporting wounded to British ports. The *Donegal* carried slightly wounded cases, all British, and 29 of these wounded men, along with 12 of the crew, lost their lives. The *Lanfranc*, in addition to 234 wounded British officers and men, carried 167 wounded German prisoners, a medical staff of 52, and a crew of 123. The lives lost were as follows: 2 wounded British officers, 11 British wounded of other ranks, 1 of the medical staff, 5 of the crew, 2 wounded German officers, 13

German wounded of other ranks. One of the rescued British officers, writing in the *Daily Telegraph*, described the scene as follows:

The *Lanfranc* was attacked by a submarine about 7.30 on Tuesday evening, just as we had finished dinner. A few of us were strolling to and fro on the deck when there was a crash which shook the liner violently. This was followed by an explosion, and glass and splinters of wood flew in all directions. I had a narrow escape from being pitched overboard, and only regained my feet with difficulty. In a few minutes the engines had stopped, and the *Lanfranc* appeared to be sinking rapidly, but to our surprise she steadied herself, and, after a while, remained perfectly motionless. . . . The moment the torpedo struck the *Lanfranc*, the Prussians made a mad rush for the life-boats. One of their officers came up to a boat close to which I was standing. I shouted to him to go back whereupon he stood and scowled. "You must save us!" he begged. I told him to wait his turn. Other Prussians showed their cowardice by dropping on their knees and imploring pity. Some of them cried "Kamerad," as they do on the battlefield. I allowed none of them to pass me.

Meanwhile, the crew and the staff had gone to their posts. The stretcher cases were brought on deck as quickly as possible, and the first boats were lowered without delay. Help had been summoned, and many vessels were hurrying to our assistance. In the

moments, while wounded Tommies—many of them as helpless as little children—lay in their cots unaided, the Prussian morale dropped to zero. Our cowardly prisoners made another crazy effort to get into a life-boat. They managed to crowd into one, but no sooner had it been lowered than it toppled over. The Prussians were thrown into the water, and they fought with each other in order to reach another boat containing a number of gravely wounded British soldiers.

The behaviour of our own lads I shall never forget. Crippled as many of them were, they tried to stand at attention while the more serious cases were being looked after. And those who could lend a hand scurried below to help in saving friend or enemy. I have never seen so many individual illustrations of genuine chivalry and comradeship.

The German Government afterwards offered to call off its war on hospital ships on two important conditions: first, that all such ships should pursue a route to be prescribed by Germany; second, that a Spanish officer should sail on each ship to guarantee that it was applied to no improper uses. These proposals were naturally treated with contempt by the British Government. Since the sinking of the *Donegal* and the *Lanfranc*, hospital ships no longer carry any distinctive marks, as these were found simply to attract the pirates.

The first Belgian relief ship to discover

that her mission implied no immunity was the *Harpalyce*, a four-masted steamer of nearly 6,000 tons, which was sunk on April 10, 1915, while proceeding in ballast from Rotterdam to Norfolk, Virginia. She flew a white flag bearing the words "Commission for Belgian Relief" in such large letters as to be visible at a great distance; and the same inscription was painted in large letters on her sides. In addition to all this, she carried a safe-conduct signed by the German minister at the Hague. But none of these precautions availed—she was torpedoed without warning, and sank before the boats could be lowered. Seventeen out of her crew of 44 lost their lives.

In the case of the Greek steamer *Embiricos*, neither her nationality (at the time when Greece was acting as the obedient tool of Germany) nor the fact that she was carrying a cargo of maize for the Belgian Relief Commission, proved any safeguard to her. The crew were cast adrift in two open boats at nightfall, though the weather in the channel was very stormy and the sea ran high. One boat's crew, after suffering great dangers and hardships, was rescued by a Brixham trawler. The other boat was never heard of again.

Since the proclamation of unrestricted frightfulness, relief ships have been systematically destroyed. One of the first victims was th

Storstad, a large Norwegian steamer, unhappily famous in her day as the ship which ran down the *Empress of Ireland* in the estuary of the St. Lawrence. She was now carrying a cargo of maize for the Belgian Relief Commission, and bore a stamped declaration by the German Consul at Buenos Ayres that she complied with the requirements of a Belgian Relief ship, and would not be molested by German submarines. On the morning of March 8, 1917, she was fired upon, and stopped, displaying her big signboard with the words "Belgian Relief Commission." The Germans satisfied themselves by questioning the crew that she was what she purported to be—a neutral ship with a neutral crew, engaged on an errand of mercy. (It is not quite clear whether the safe-conduct was actually exhibited or not.) Nothing availed to save her. The crew were forced to take to their boats, and the ship was sunk by gunfire. The submarine refused even to take the boats in tow. They drifted for thirty-six hours, and three men died of exposure before they were rescued.

The relief ship *Trevier* was sunk a month later (April 4) off Scheveningen, and a shell was fired as the boats were being lowered, wounding eight men. The Norwegian steamer *Camilla*, in spite of a safe-conduct, was sunk without warning; eight lives were lost, and the nine survivors, after drifting through five days of snow-

storms and heavy weather, were landed in Norway. Further instances of the same nature are thus summarised in the *Times History of the War* (Part 158, p. 65):

Yet another relief ship sunk in April was the *Carnetta*. Despite the fact that this vessel carried papers signed by the German ambassador at Washington, she was not allowed to proceed when stopped by a U-boat in the North Sea. The signed papers were shown to the submarine commander, but he refused to acknowledge them, and ordered the crew to leave the ship, which was sunk. The two boats into which 23 sailors were crowded were not allowed to take any supplies with them. After six days of terrible suffering one of them reached Norway, but not before five of the crew had died of gangrene or starvation. Two more died later. . . . Similarly, the Norwegian-owned steamer *Kongshi*, chartered by the Belgian Relief Commission, was torpedoed while in a locality declared by the Germans to be a safe zone.

The systematic nature of these acts of destruction seems to show that they cannot be put down to the irresponsible truculence of individual U-boat commanders. There must have been some political design in thus tightening the hunger-screw upon unhappy Belgium.

CONCLUSION

THE purpose of these pages has been to give in brief compass some typical instances of the new element of almost fiendish cruelty introduced into maritime warfare by the German employment of the submarine as a commerce destroyer. Anything like an exhaustive record would have been impossible. In the first place, the materials are not available; in the second place, if they were, the story would run into many volumes. On the other hand, an honest effort has been made to give full credit to the legal and honourable aspect of U-boat warfare, and to overlook no recorded instance of humanity on the part of German commanders.¹

No stress has been laid on the brighter side of the picture—the bravery, often amounting to heroism, displayed by British, Allied, and neutral merchant seamen, and by the passengers of torpedoed liners.

¹ A few—a very few—instances of some approach to humanity are noted in the official reports of the Norwegian Government, issued since these pages were in type.

This aspect of the case is worthy of a separate study. In part, indeed, it has already been ably dealt with by Mr. Alfred Noyes and other writers. There have been numberless cases like that of the Ellerman liner *City of Birmingham*, torpedoed without warning November 27, 1916, in which the conduct of the crew and passengers was admirable throughout. The master reports that "the women took their places in the boats as calmly as if they were going down to their meals, and when in the boats they began singing."

The incidents here related (except in respect to hospital and relief ships) almost all belong to the two and a half years before Germany declared her policy of "unrestricted" piracy and murder. In the interval between May, 1916, and January, 1917, the promise made to the United States that merchant vessels should not be sunk "without warning and without saving human lives" had been flagrantly violated in unnumbered instances; but great liners had enjoyed a relative immunity. Meanwhile Germany had treated the United States to an audacious U-boat "demonstration." On October 7, 1916, the submarine U 53 made its appearance at the fashionable seaside resort, Newport, where the German ambassador was then staying. After exchanging with him (no doubt) much useful information, and after having been

visited and admired by all Newport, the submarine took its departure within the prescribed twenty-four hours, and proceeded to place itself in the crowded fareway outside the entrance to the port of New York, and there to sink six ships—four British, one Dutch, and one Norwegian. In each case warning was given, and, thanks to the presence of American destroyers on the scene, all lives were saved. This proceeding was the more intolerable as the American Government had, during the previous winter, demanded and obtained the withdrawal of certain British and French cruisers which had been hovering in American waters. Although the United States made no formal protest against the exploit of U 53, President Wilson summoned Count Bernstorff to his country house in New Jersey, and told him that it must not be repeated. As a matter of fact, the adventurous submarine was no more heard of on that side of the Atlantic; but several incidents occurred in the course of the autumn to save America from falling under the illusion that Germany paid any special regard to her susceptibilities or to the lives of her citizens. When the *Marina* was torpedoed without warning in the Atlantic, six Americans were done to death, and the survivors were left to drift for more than thirty hours, in wild weather, before they were picked up by a patrol boat. The German excuse was

that the U-boat commander took her for a transport—a mistake which would have been avoided had he exercised his right of visit and search. Again, the American steamer *Chemung* was torpedoed with her flag flying; but the crew were all saved, the submarine having towed their boats some distance. Seventeen American lives were lost on board the *Russian*, but that ship really was a transport.

It was obvious from the first that Germany had no intention of being bound by her promise of May, 1916. She had constantly broken it, in fact; and the proviso with which she had guarded it (immediately repudiated, as we have seen, by President Wilson) showed that she was prepared at any moment to annul it in theory. She did not actually wish to take the extreme measure of nailing the black flag to the mast and announcing a campaign of "unrestricted" piracy. If the war on land had taken the course she hoped, or if the gamble of the Battle of Jutland had turned in her favour, this final breach with legality and humanity might have been avoided. But, disappointed in both these contingencies, she at last saw in the U-boat her sole salvation. Meantime, she had been feverishly building up a submarine fleet, adequate, as she supposed, to the great enterprise of starving Britain into submission; and at the end of January, 1917, she thought the

moment had arrived to strike her great knock-out blow.

Why should she shrink from throwing overboard the last pretence of any respect for human feeling, to say nothing of neutral rights? Let her but succeed, and all the priests and all the moralists (she thought) would rise up and call her blessed. Had not Nietzsche written: "Ye say it is the good cause which halloweth even war? I say unto you, it is the good war which halloweth every cause."

What followed is too well known to call for recapitulation in detail. On January 31, 1917, Germany proclaimed her intention of sinking at sight every ship encountered in the waters around the British Isles and France, and in the Mediterranean. America was notified of Germany's "expectation" that her Government would "warn American ships against entering the barred zones," and American citizens against entrusting their lives or goods to vessels bound for ports in the "blockaded" countries. By way of adding insult to injury, one American ship a week was to be allowed to have access to England, provided it was striped like a zebra and followed a prescribed route.

President Wilson's answer was immediate and emphatic. On February 3 he announced to Congress that he had handed Count Bernstorff his passports and had thus severed diplomatic

relations between the United States and the German Empire. Two months later (April 6) the United States was formally declared to be at war with Germany.

The U-boat had thus proved to be the immediate occasion, though, of course, not the sole cause, of one of the greatest events in history—the union of the whole English-speaking world in the struggle for humanity, democracy, and a lasting peace. This is such a wonderful achievement that maritime ruthlessness comes almost to wear the appearance of a providential means to an incomparably beneficent end. But though we may tell ourselves that those who have died in agony through German crimes have at least not died in vain, this reflection cannot, and ought not to, diminish the horror with which we regard the frenzy of national egoism, the sophistical perversion of all decent moral feeling, which has degraded a great Empire to the point of seeking to vindicate its claim to world power by means of a systematic course of murderous piracy such as the world, even in its darkest ages, never saw before.

THE END

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17
A LETTER TO
AN AMERICAN FRIEND

BY

THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A.

*Vicar of Christ Church, Westminster;
Sometime Minister of the City Temple, London*

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AT the moment of writing we have reached the gravest crisis of the world-war. Russia lies prostrate at the feet of the common enemy; the Ukraine has not only made peace but is preparing to receive aid in her struggle against the Bolshevik Government; Roumania is isolated and helpless in presence of the convulsions of her once mighty neighbour, and may be compelled to get the best terms she can from the conqueror, as the Entente Powers are through force of circumstances unable to render her any immediately effective assistance; Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Finland—all are at the disposal of their German military masters. Plainly, for the time being at any rate, Eastern Europe has been swept within the orbit of German military domination, with all that that portentous fact implies.

If the war were to end with this situation in being and likely to be perpetuated, the outlook for the future would be dark indeed; civilisation would be at the mercy of a system more sin-

ister, more menacing, more deadly in relation to all that makes for freedom and true manhood than was the ascendancy of Napoleon at its greatest; there has never been anything like it in the world's history for sheer brutal effectiveness, inspired and directed with a concentration of purpose and a scientific efficiency hitherto unmatched in the New World or the Old. The Baltic and the Black Seas are simply to become German lakes; the resources of the vast region that extends eastward towards the Pacific, and southward towards the Levant on the one side and the Persian Gulf on the other, will be exploited forthwith by the directors of German policy for the gaining of the ultimate ends for which they deliberately set the world in a blaze.

The danger is real, terrible, overwhelming. The immediate hope of averting it rests with the line of brave men who stand in the mud of France and Flanders, awaiting the onslaught of the enemy hordes hastening westwards flushed with triumph and inflamed with confidence in the invincibility of the German sword.

Will they be able to endure the shock? Who knows? They are outnumbered for the first time since the early days of the war; they have been fighting for three and a half years; our own guns, seized from the Russians, are turned against them; every devilish device that ingenuity can suggest

or wickedness employ will be drawn upon to their undoing. We here in England watch, and hope, and pray.

American soldiers are now side by side with the sons of France and Britain in the trenches. They will bear a full and increasing share in the glories and perils of the dreadful hour that is upon us, our cause theirs and their spirit ours; and whatever comes of the conflict in which this comradeship has for the first time been achieved, it would be impossible to lay too much stress upon the far-reaching significance for mankind of the one luminous fact that the Stars and Stripes are for the first time flying upon a European battlefield. What does this mean? How does it come that both Great Britain and America have abandoned their traditional policy and been swept into a colossal war on the Continent of Europe?

Neither country was organised for war, and so far as the mass of the people was concerned, in both countries alike, nothing could have been less expected. The British democracy would not stand for anything like a military adventure on a large scale outside its own borders; no statesman could have persuaded it to do so; and had anyone in this island at the beginning of 1914 declared that the British people at home and beyond the seas would be called upon within the ensuing twelve months to raise an army of six

million men and to pledge all its resources for a Continental struggle, he would have been universally derided, in so far as he was able to obtain a hearing at all. The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the United States.

What then, we may legitimately ask, has been the issue at stake which was able to effect so great a change, and what were the factors which compelled the older nation to realise it first? In other words, what fundamentally is the cause in which the great democracies of East and West are now engaged together and must stand or fall together?

We here, in the land of the Mother of Parliaments, desire that there should be no misapprehension on this point on the part of our American brothers, and therefore we address you. You are our main hope, the hope of civilisation itself; to many of us the United States are a sort of City of Refuge, the very thought of which sustains us in our darkest trials. Were we to lose in this fearful struggle, and were our ancient homeland to become indeed the vassal of Germany, as General Bernhardi cynically anticipates, it is to the United States that we should turn as the one shining spot on earth whereon a man trained in British traditions would still be able to live a free man's life; we should come to you and make our abode under your flag.

It is not for nothing then that you and we are ranged shoulder to shoulder in a common effort to stem a black tide of evil that is threatening to engulf all that is fairest and most beautiful in human relations. We want you to understand us, to see how essentially we are at one in our aims, to remove any misgivings that might exist in your minds as to our disinterestedness and our readiness to co-operate with you in realising the ideal with which you entered the war. Much that we know about liberty you taught us; much that you know about justice we taught you. We did you wrong in the past, but the spirit in which you resisted and overcame us your fathers bore from our shores to yours. To-day you are no more truly a democracy than we; in some ways we excel you, for there is no land on earth where the value of the individual man is better understood, or his liberty of speech and act more jealously cherished, than in Great Britain. And your mental and spiritual climate is so much like ours that we can breathe your air as though it were native to us, as in a sense indeed it is.

Your President speaks for us all when he defines the ideals for which we are contending in common. Our hearts thrill responsive to his noble utterance; he expresses what we feel as he expresses what you feel, and we remember with pride the stock whence he derives. There is an

ancient church in a little city in a northern county of England whose proudest boast it is that President Wilson's grandfather once ministered therein and spoke the Word of God with authority to his people. Their grandsons and great-grandsons remember that with gladness when the Word of God comes to us across the Atlantic from the lips of the President of the United States to the stricken peoples of Europe to-day.

We were in the war before you because we were next door to the peril. We thought you slow to realise it; some of us said in our haste that you were selfishly taking advantage of it to enrich yourselves in your false security on the other side of the ocean. It was not true; few of us ever believed it true; but there was colour for the accusation, and our hearts grew bitter within us as our blood and treasure poured forth in an ever-growing flood and you showed no sure sign of coming to our aid. Instead, your spokesmen preached to us as though we and our enemies stood on the same moral level and were equally culpable before the bar of history. You have learned better since then, and so have we. You know now that we were fighting your battle as well as our own, and we know that you were not only ready and willing to fight your own but ours once you were convinced that ours was the cause of mankind.

It would have been your turn next if we had gone under, for Prussianism and Americanism are irreconcilable; if, to use President Wilson's words, the world is to be made safe for democracy, Prussianism and its brood of hell must be rendered powerless to do evil henceforth. It took time to bring this home to the American mind, and no wonder, but when you understood the issue for what it really was you instantly outstripped us all in the thoroughness with which you rose to meet it. We are lost in wonder and admiration as we watch what you are doing and note the spirit in which you are doing it; our action has been ineffective in comparison all along, and you have inspired us with new zeal and energy to do what must be done and bear what must be borne till the stern task is accomplished and the sorely stricken world is once more at peace. Truly at last, in well-worn phrase, has a new world been called in to redress the balance of the old. Never in all history has such an amazing and epoch-making reversal of a national tradition been decided upon as that which was yours when you intervened with strong hand in European politics. It was an act of noble disinterestedness, of lofty courage and faith, which has given you the moral leadership of the world.

We are not in a position to reproach you for your slowness in coming to our aid; what else

could we expect? Your liberties were won from us at the point of the sword; your history pivots upon your emancipation from British monarchical control. We are still the greatest imperial power in the world, and to every citizen of the mighty American Commonwealth this is a knotty fact which needs a good deal of explaining when we profess that our cause is the cause of human freedom and brotherhood. Your statesmen, such as Mr. Roosevelt, have been generous enough to say that on the whole we have used our power wisely and well, and that we are the greatest civilising agency among the nations from this point of view; to us as an essentially maritime people has fallen, less by design than by force of circumstances, the task of preserving order and introducing the arts of peace amongst backward races not yet ready for full self-government as understood in the great democracies of four continents.

May we not fairly claim that we have done the work creditably? Where the British flag flies, there tyranny is unknown; justice, tranquillity, and individual liberty are taken for granted; the welfare of those under our charge is not subordinated to any less worthy object. In all this we can boldly challenge comparison with any other Power on earth, and especially with our foes. Let any reasonable man ask himself what would be the fate of Egypt and India if they were left

to themselves or fell under German rule; let any man inquire what they were before we went there, and what they are now.

Still more, let any man from any quarter of the globe pay a visit to any one of the rapidly growing English-speaking communities coming within our imperial system but possessing local autonomy. What will he find? He will find that our only bond of empire is that of the loyalty and devotion of these far-spread children of Great Britain to their motherland. He need not even confine himself to those British territories where our tongue is spoken—ours and yours. South Africa is as free as New York, and has a government composed mainly of representatives of a Dutch-speaking race. Who could have believed it possible that the generalissimo of the Boer forces which fought against us in 1900 should now be Prime Minister of a South African Union whose armies, Dutch and British alike, are fighting on our side? There is no compulsion about it; theirs is a State within a Union not even so closely knit together as that which binds California to New England.

The miracle is easy of explanation; we enjoy no liberty ourselves which is not also theirs. The vast Dominion of Canada, with its boundless potentialities for the future, lies along your border; what have you to say of that? Why should

Canadians trouble to fight for England? Your Monroe doctrine would protect them if there were no British Navy. We possess no authority over them that you do not. They are in no danger from you—if any fact were needed to demonstrate the essential difference between the ideal of government which you and we possess in common and the evil thing against which we are contending for mastery, it would be supplied by those four thousand miles of frontier without a single fort or gunboat in its whole extent—for they and you are brothers with no fell designs upon each other. No, they fight for England because England to the ends of the earth is the centre and symbol of good order broad-based upon the will of the people. If England fell, that principle would be so much the weaker, so much the poorer in the councils of the nations, that not even you could single-handed restore it to its place.

Further, let it be frankly admitted that we are in the war, not simply as you are for disinterested reasons, but also because we had a vital stake in the immediate issue. Nor need we be ashamed of this. The present writer has no sympathy with the view so frequently put forward that Britain drew the sword solely to protect a little independent nation barbarously violated and despoiled by a mighty bullying neighbour. It is true that we did come to the aid of maltreated Belgium;

it is true that it was the cynical invasion of Belgium more than anything else which within twenty-four hours swung British opinion into line with the Government in determining to declare war upon Germany. Had the German General Staff had the sense to leave Belgium alone until their designs against France and Russia had been accomplished, it would have been impossible to secure a united front in Great Britain for a war policy; the rape of Belgium did what not all the warnings of statesmen and publicists could do in making us as one man on the subject of resistance to German aggression.

The same might be said of the Government itself—liberal and pacifist in principle, no member of it more pronouncedly so than the present Prime Minister. It was only because the Government saw that there was no way out, save with dishonour, that the famous ultimatum was issued that threw the resources of the British Empire into the scale against Prussianism. Belgium did it. Belgium did it, chiefly no doubt because of the horror and indignation excited in this country at the spectacle of a weak nation wickedly attacked by a strong one, but also because of what it portended. We saw with startling suddenness that the fate of Belgium was only preliminary to our own. We saw that we could not afford to leave the Prussian master of Belgium nor yet of France.

To stand by and allow France to be crushed would have been equally fatal, though it would have taken us longer to see it. Belgium apart, we had to fight or perish.

In all this we but anticipated the decision to which you later came. You are chivalrously fighting the battle of humanity, not your own; you have risen up as the champion of the independence of small nations against overweening brutal might; you are battling to overthrow the system that threatens these. But a clear perception of this object and a consciousness of being chiefly moved by it do not make it any the less true that if the European democracies were crushed your turn would come next. The Prussian war lords have scarcely taken the trouble to conceal their purpose in this regard. Probably you would have held your own, but at what a risk!

Nor do we forget that when you finally threw in your lot with us you did so mainly because the moral consciousness of the entire American people was revolted by German methods of making war. Like all decent people you found it hard to believe that the tales could be true which reached your shores concerning the cold-blooded application of the deliberate policy of frightfulness to the helpless inhabitants of invaded lands, the cruelties perpetrated upon prisoners of war, the bombardment of open towns, the use of poison gas

and other infamies in the field, and, last but not least, the unrestricted U-boat warfare. Most of all, perhaps, were you influenced by the gradual realisation that the ugly monster which had been set loose in Central Europe was a beast with whom moral considerations did not count. The Prussian military autocracy could not be trusted to keep faith with anybody. Lying, trickery, devilish intrigue were its most ordinary weapons, to be used without scruple against friend and foe alike. The plighted word meant nothing except as a move in the game; it could be repudiated at any moment when it paid to do so, as your diplomats and statesmen in their dealings with Germany have had to learn over and over again to their cost.

But now that you are with us heart and soul in resistance to the greatest organised evil where-with human society at large has ever been menaced, let us ask whether there are not still more fundamental issues involved than any of the foregoing, though indissolubly bound up with them. It is only gradually that we ourselves have come to recognise clearly what these are; once up against the issues you have been quicker to envisage them than we. They can best be considered in connection with the general question of the relation of the ideal of democracy to that of individual well-being. The Germanic alliance

stands frankly for autocracy, that of the Entente Powers for democracy. Put in another form, we might say that at its best the Prussian idea is that of paternal government, ours fraternal. Each has its special advantages and its special dangers, but spiritually there can be no question as to which can show the higher results.

The Prussian system has done wonderful things beyond all power of computation. It has not been modelled on Eastern despotism, like that of its Turkish ally, but has consistently sought the immediate welfare of the governed. This much may be ungrudgingly admitted. German imperial administration is uncorrupt, far-seeing, efficient, thorough. It has given to German citizens the best general education in the world and has carried specialisation to the highest point. It has encouraged and rewarded industry and ability with no niggard hand; it has fostered research, enterprise, trade and commerce to a degree unknown in other countries. It has shown the rest of the world what organisation could do in the development of the internal and external resources of the State. Alone among the non-popular forms of government which have survived from the Middle Ages it has gone far to justify itself by results; it has undoubtedly placed the German people in possession of a wealth and prosperity which could hardly have been won otherwise in the same

time, and it is this beyond doubt which has rendered Kaiserism and its adjuncts acceptable to the great mass of the German-speaking subjects of William the Second. German imperialism is the only autocracy that can offer a serious challenge to democratic ideals; it has succeeded.

But at what a price! No virile race on God's earth is kept in political tutelage like the German people. They have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage; they were nearer to liberty of soul in 1848, when they all but overthrew monarchy, than they are to-day. They do not understand how free nations feel in relation to life; they are content to be told what to do and say, to have restrictions placed upon their freedom of action in a thousand ways which would be utterly intolerable to any free-spirited folk. They are accustomed to be regulated, bullied, moved about like pawns by a master hand. They do not resent it; they are accustomed to it, trained in it, fashioned by it; they see what great things this paternal authority has done for them and judge it accordingly. If it failed them they would rebel, but it has not failed—yet; on the contrary, it has been a glittering success, and it suits them.

There is very little to show for the belief entertained in some quarters that the German public disapproves the ruthless policy of its rulers. The children of the men who fought the vic-

torious campaign of 1870 have been brought up to breathe the very air of militarism; the swaggering Prussian officer is their ideal of manhood; they have been made hard, aggressive, morally insensitive. Nothing will deliver them from this obsession of an evil spirit but the collapse of the system that fostered it, and that collapse can only come about by the bitter experience of defeat in the field. Let it once be proved that the German imperial military organisation is not invincible against the rest of the world in arms and its doom is sealed.

This will be hard to accomplish, for autocracy has this initial advantage over democracy, that it can focus its strength more quickly and thoroughly to a given end. The thesis of De Tocqueville, that democracy is the most difficult and exacting of all forms of government because it demands more from the individual citizen, is well illustrated in this war. Democracy as a principle is no magic passport to well-being, for everything depends on the spirit in which it is worked. Its main reliance is not on authority backed by force nor on governmental machinery, but on the wisdom and disciplined self-restraint of its members. The individual is summoned to do his thinking for himself, and to decide along with his fellows the crucial issues of State policy. The national destiny is committed to his hands, to make or mar.

Good government, like all other moral values, can be enjoyed by him only at the cost of unceasing vigilance. In complex questions the initiative may have to come from the executive, but the executive is itself elected, and its character is therefore determined by the prevailing standards of social and political righteousness. The admirations and preferences of the individual are mirrored in the type of leader that he chooses to place in power.

This has two consequences. First, democracy, founding its political creed on belief in the moral resources of the individual citizen, must regard as all-important the tasks of education, religious, moral, and social. Secondly, the requirements of statesmanship in a democracy are greater, not less, than in an autocracy. In proportion as the aims are higher and wider, the problems are more complex and difficult. Though the elected rulers have less independent power, they have the more onerous task of enlightening public opinion and of enlisting its support in all their projects. Democracy forbids the drawing of any Bismarckian distinction between the morality of the individual and the morality of the State. Such a distinction is always based on the contention that the ruler is a trustee and has therefore no right to practise at the expense of his Fatherland the Christian virtues of forbearance and justice towards other

States. In democracy, on all crucial questions of international as of national policy, the individual citizens decide; and, as they are disposing of themselves in relation to others, they are subject to the same moral laws as in their individual dealings between man and man. They can confer on their representatives no right to do for the State what their conscience would forbid them to do in their own private interests.

The first condition of such democratic government is the liberty of the individual. The passion for liberty is equally strong in Britain and in America. Political liberty for both dates from Magna Charta, and they share in common the body of English Common Law. Trusting to moral rather than material forces, to men rather than to institutions, democracy cannot be preached as a merely political programme or as a panacea: it is an ideal of life. For the same reason it is missionary and propagandist; it imposes duties upon the individual citizen in relation to the internal welfare of other political communities than his own.

It was the recognition of this principle that compelled the United States to draw the sword for the deliverance of Cuba, and a thousandfold more is it the recognition of this principle which justifies, nay, demands, her intervention on a vaster field to-day. Though the primary duties

of the individual are to the State to which he belongs, they rest on a basis that renders them applicable to all mankind. Miss Cavell's noble utterance in the face of a violent death, "Patriotism is not enough," is not only a statement of the first principle of Christianity but of that which is now at stake in this colossal struggle of the nations; it is that which inspires the immortal message of President Wilson, a prophet among statesmen, that America should count among the things she will fight for "the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience." Democracy contains the promise of the only internationalism worth while—support of other communities in proportion as they represent the same ideal or through tyranny are prevented from pursuing it.

Thus democracy stands for the belief that the problem of statesmanship is as far as it goes identical with that of religion, the saving of the soul of man both in its individual and its social aspects. It relies on the spirit, and on other forces only in proportion as they serve its ultimate aim. By this standard it tests its political institutions; and by this standard it must also determine the issues of war and peace.

This, and nothing less than this, is what is at stake in the world to-day. Two ideals of living, two spiritual creeds, two views of human worth

and destiny confront each other on the battlefield. And just as in your War of Independence against us by which you won your national autonomy, and your later Civil War by which the one gap in your Constitution was filled, so now to-day you are fighting for the principle on which alone true and lasting spiritual manhood can be built. Lincoln's words on the field of Gettysburg are even more patently and universally applicable to the present world-war and your part in it than to the struggle in which you were then engaged: "We here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." Yours is the unique and unspeakable privilege of being able to say that as a nation you have never drawn the sword for any other principle. May this be the last time you will need to vindicate it, as indeed it shall, if only we are unitedly and sufficiently great of soul to persevere to the full attainment of the glorious end we have set before us.

The tragedies of the war have stirred to its depths the conscience of the entire civilised world and have created a universal determination that no opportunity shall be left when the settlement comes for any renewal of the unimaginable calamities we are now called upon to endure. The outstand-

ing abuses of the old order of things—the old secret diplomacy and non-moral bargaining regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants of the territories handed over by treaty to this Power or that—must be swept utterly away. Let all international dealing be frank and open; it is our greatest safeguard. Let the glaring wrongs created by past wars be drastically remedied—the Alsace-Lorraine question, the dismemberment of Poland, the cruel maltreatment of Armenia, to name only a few. Most of all, statesmanship is now ripe for the establishment of a League of Nations with the one great object of maintaining peace and coercing any Power that attempts to break it. The main hope of such a League of Nations is that America should take the lead therein; it would give confidence to every small nation throughout the world, for no one outside Germany could question the disinterestedness of the United States in this grave matter. To Great Britain it would be sufficient to see her own ideals thus represented and enforced by the most powerful nation on earth.

The war has led directly to a much closer practical union of Great Britain with all the free self-governing British dominions throughout the world, a union which in the near future will be still more complete. May comradeship in arms lead to a similar permanent understanding between Great

Britain and the United States! Why not? Why not an international citizenship of the two great branches of the English-speaking race? What is to hinder it? What old-time prejudice can we remove, what institution can we reform so as to bring it into line with yours? In some respects yours would do well to come into line with ours—but that we need not discuss.

Is there anything in our methods of government anywhere which offends American sentiment or is inconsistent with American ideals? Does Ireland block the way, for instance, as some of your publicists tell us? We beg you to make closer acquaintance with the facts before you pass judgment. Whatever may be true of ages past, the British electorate is only too willing to deal justly and fairly with Ireland. Nay, we might even go so far as to trust President Wilson to settle the whole Irish question for us if he would undertake it; but would he? He would soon find, if he does not know already, that it is not England but Ireland herself that is disunited on this question and cannot arrive at agreement. England will do anything that Ireland wants if Ireland can only make up her mind as to what she really does want. That is the real problem, and there is no other.

In the fearful time through which the world is passing it is not Ireland that is having to suffer,

but England, Scotland, and Wales, Canada. Australia, South Africa. Leave one or two corners of Ireland out of count and the contrast with the sister kingdom is striking. One could not do better than put it to you to say what proportionate part Ireland is bearing in this war for the deliverance of mankind from an ancient bondage.

It is long since Great Britain came to recognise that she could not isolate herself from the rest of the world. Now America too has realised that she can no longer limit the sphere of her interest to the Western Hemisphere, but must assume a full responsibility with the rest of civilisation for the shaping of the future of the undivided human race. That future is in the balance at this moment, and but a little may tip the scales for or against the sane and honest ideals of liberty and justice, good comradeship and self-respect, mutual trust and the will to universal happiness. Upon the action of the three great democracies of the world, America, France, and Great Britain, more than upon all other facts and forces put together, under God the decision waits.

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